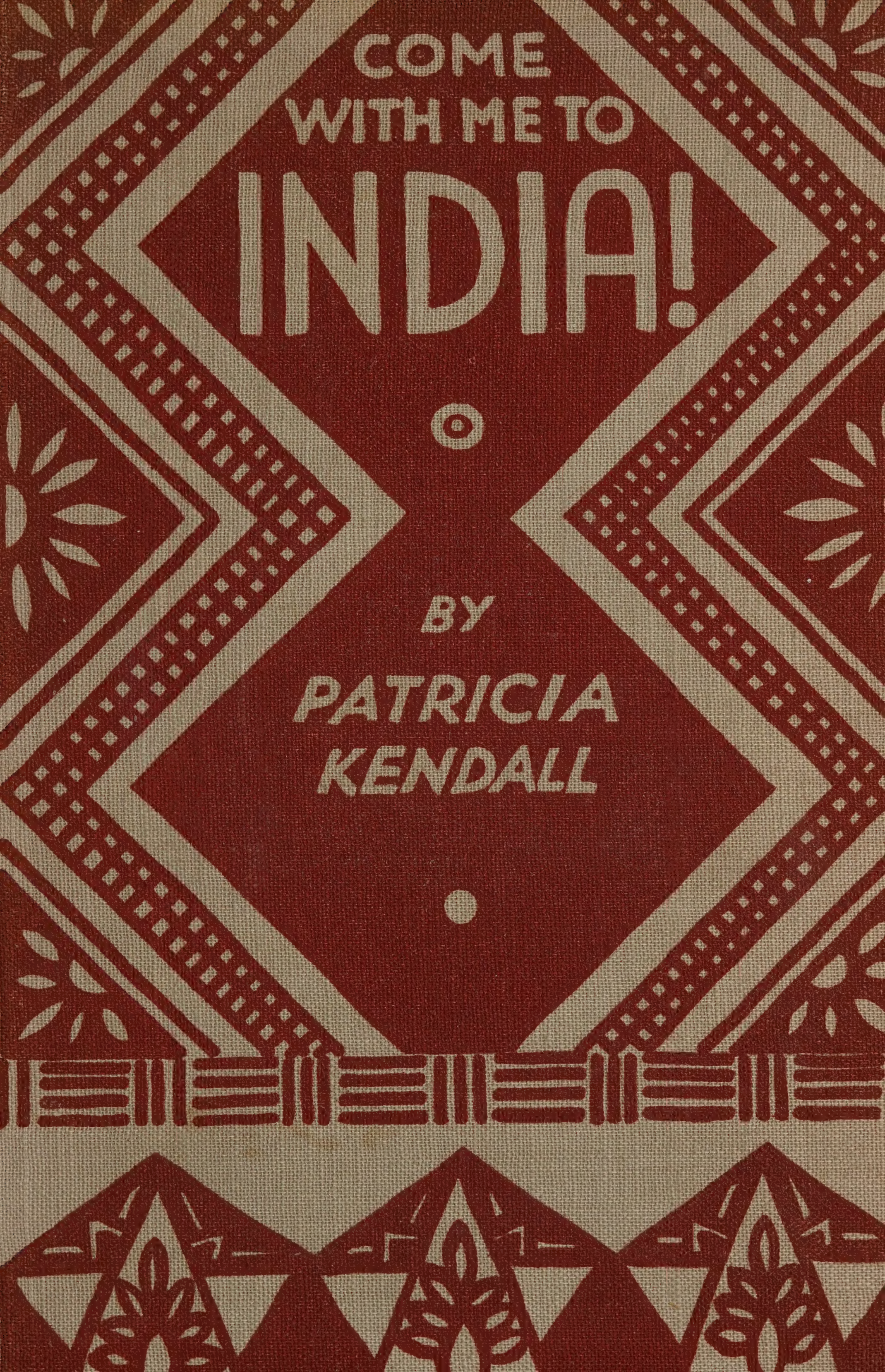
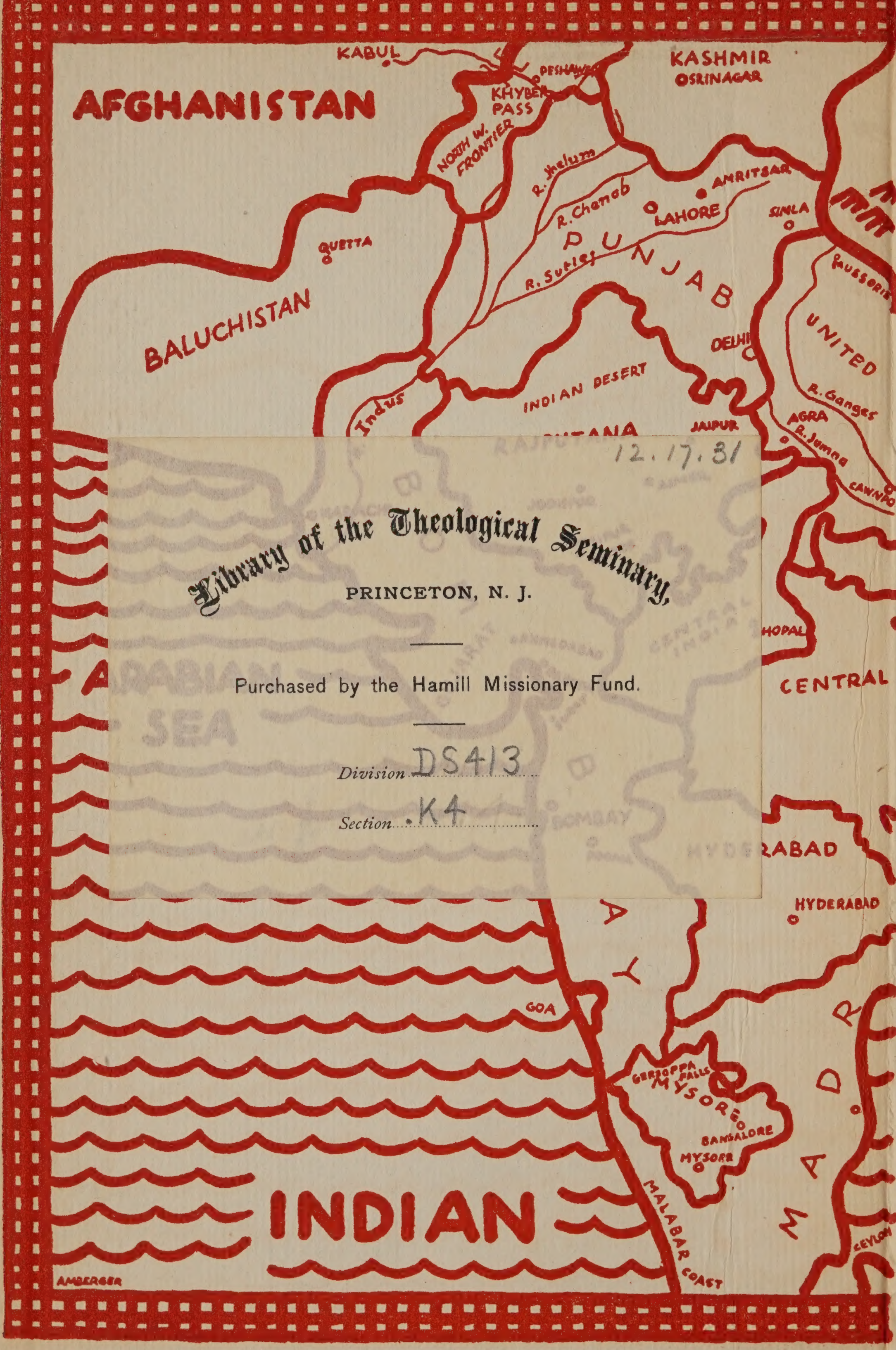


COME WITH ME TO INDIA!

BY

PATRICIA KENDALL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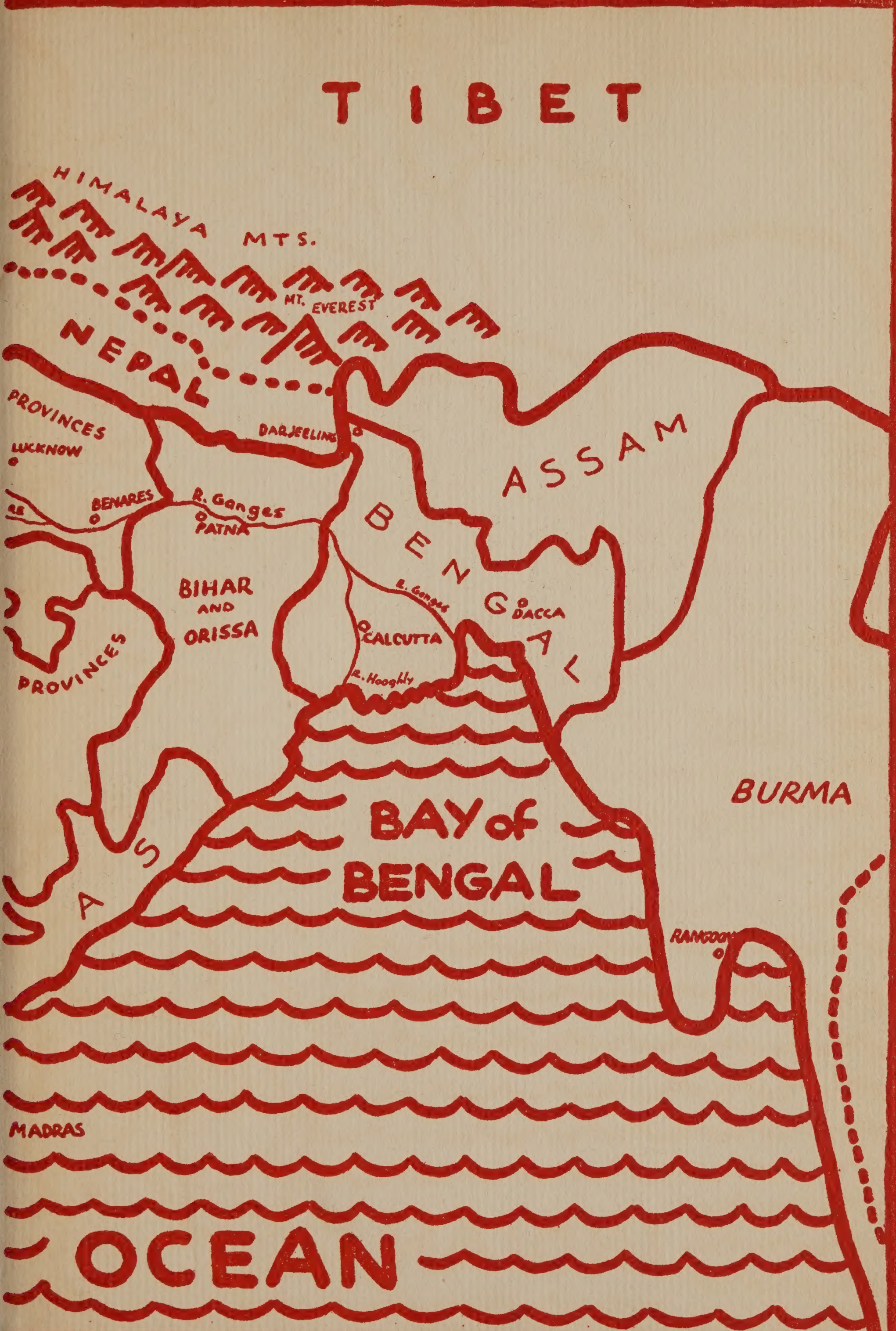
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TO INDIA!

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COME WITH ME TO INDIA!

A QUEST FOR TRUTH AMONG PEOPLES AND PROBLEMS

BY
PATRICIA KENDALL

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
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1931

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A

TO INDIA

FOR THE TRUTH CAN MAKE HER
FREE

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COME WITH ME
TO INDIA!

CHAPTER I

COME WITH ME TO INDIA!

INDIA has gifts for you. She offers her marvels and mysteries to all who seek. In return she demands only intensity of purpose, for this ageless Titan is a vital land of vital creeds. To the casual eye or casual heart she inexorably locks her thoughts and bars her treasures. Life then streams by like a fabulous dream, a picture pageantry of shadow shapes. But to the ardent mind and eager quest she discloses profundities that stir one's depths. Her revelations sometimes seem to come from a magic world, sometimes from Pandora's box; some will inspire your soul, some will wrench your heart, but all will stir your thoughts.

If you have the opportunity to make your own explorations in the distant realms of India, I urge you to go. But take with you a background of deep and wide research into the histories of the streams of races and currents of emotions that have interwoven for four thousand years to produce her peoples of to-day, take with you a knowledge of the cause and effect of the British wave of colonists that came to govern this land of many countries; above all, take with you tolerance for the conditions you will find, if you would fathom India's transcendent beauties and her deep truths.

As you traverse the length and breadth of that vast subcontinent, throbbing life will flow into historical annals that now seem but inanimate records, and vibrant meaning will pour into statistical charts that now are ostensibly but petrified mathematics. But this transformation of lifeless tabulations into vital gazettes can take place only after you have felt the pulse of the Indian peoples and sensed the intensity and quality of their natures.

If you haven't the leisure to make such a long pilgrimage and wide study, let me be your conductor and, through the pages of this book, take you to the other side of the earth to the most baffling and fascinating land in the world—India!

There we shall retrace, by figurative airplane, the ambitions, the contentions, the victories and the downfalls of the many and diverse races which have ruled India and bred the peoples who now live in the land. We shall follow swiftly the paths of history that will bring us directly into the problems and feuds of to-day. We shall see the intriguing and ruthless injections of that past into the present like so many fingers, penetrating frequently half-way into the intellects, three-quarters into the customs, and ofttimes entirely into the creeds of the inhabitants. Together, as we travel, we shall assort and qualify her confusing contradictions and incredible inconsistencies. Only after gaining this acquaintanceship shall we be able to cross that wide gulf that stretches between knowledge and understanding and with fairness and appreciation adjudge the art, gauge the growth and censor the canons of the Indian peoples.

Come with me to India!

Highways to Hindustan

First impressions of any alien country are enduring. When the schisms of speech, habits and standards are added to that of geography, original observations become difficult to erase. When these schisms are also radical antitheses to our own lives, initial viewpoints are usually indelible. The introduction to this great subcontinent and the complex life that surges or stagnates within its portals should be carefully considered.

There are several highways to Hindustan and four points of entry that are generally used: Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta and Dhanuskodi. I prefer Bombay. But I do not intend to be an arbitrary guide until we cross the threshold of India, so I shall sketch these optional routes and let you choose our lane of transit.

Bombay is the most popular as well as the most colorful point of entry, and the voyage to this port is a stimulating experience, for, once we reach the Mediterranean end of Europe, we follow the ancient pathway of centuries of stirring and significant history.

Leaving Port Said, we pass through the Suez Canal, which cuts for a hundred miles through sands steeped in story. Thirteen hundred years before Christ, Rameses the Great lost 125,000 slaves in a vain endeavor to cleave the Isthmus of Suez with a permanent waterway, and ensuing dynasties of kings made strenuous attempts that proved equally futile. The Canal of to-day is the result of culminated effort down the ages to link the West with the East.

The overland traffic that travelled the routes on either side of this sterile strip, the efforts to connect the waters of the Mediterranean with the Red Sea through the brassy sands of the Isthmus in order to eliminate these routes and gain direct trade with India, and the finally accomplished channel and its defense, have altered the map of dominions. Many cities arose to autocratic authority and wealth because of this isthmian barrier to Indian commerce; some to transient supremacy, a few to permanent power. When the discovery of the passage to India around the Cape of Good Hope changed the highway of traffic, the Suez sands dimmed in importance and the cities that had thrived on the Red Sea trade shrank into inconsequence in world affairs. Then, in 1869, due to the zealous efforts of Ferdinand de Lesseps, the Canal was opened, the Cape route abandoned, and once more the strategic Isthmus became the key to the East. Now almost 30,000,000 tons of shipping pass through this waterway each year, for it cuts 44 per cent from the water distance between Europe and India.

After passing the Port of Suez at the eastern end of the Canal, we travel between Arabia and Africa down the 1,300-mile length of the Red Sea, the centuries-old lane of Eastern commerce and contention. These waters were successfully and profitably used by the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Arabs, and, in the Middle Ages, by the Venetians until Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Before that far-reaching event, the trade of this sea enriched and empowered Constantinople and Alexandria, the two cities which controlled the overland routes of the camel caravans that traversed the arid regions between the coastal marts of the Red Sea, to which Arab sailors brought rich cargoes from India and the Far East, and the markets of the Ottoman city and the Greek capital of Egypt, where the opulent wares were bartered to European traffickers of the Mediterranean. With the opening of the Suez Canal, the Red Sea became an even more important highway than ever before, and to-day ships and merchantmen from the farthest reaches of the world ply its waters.

Leaving behind the Sea-that-is-not-red, and Aden's scorching rocks that form a veritable Gibraltar for its eastern portals, we steam for four days across the Arabian Sea before anchoring in that most beautiful of harbors, Bombay.

The second route requires our traversing Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to Basra, the port of Iraq on the Persian Gulf, and our voyaging down its mysterious and romantic waters to Karachi, a flourishing seaport of the extreme western portion of India, not far from the Persian border. This journey across lands and waterways that are also rich in history and tradition is neither so comfortable nor so pregnant with vibrant interest as the Red Sea transit, and Karachi, an entirely modern city, erected in comparatively recent years for the handling of exports and imports of the northern interior, offers nothing to the traveller and little to the student. Hemmed in by the Sind Desert, exit by train necessitates a trying journey across blistering wastes, while when we proceed to Bombay by the weekly steamer, first impressions of India have already been made.

We could reach Karachi by Imperial Airways plane, which arrives every week from London with passengers and mail. But I suggest the passage by air for a thrilling but safe homeward journey.

The third choice is the route that follows the sun, and we can arrive at Calcutta after a six weeks' voyage from San Francisco. The Pacific Ocean and the China Sea, however, touch no lands that have materially affected the history or life of

India and therefore this itinerary offers no preparatory inurement. In addition, after sighting the Indian mainland, we must sail up the Hooghly River before disembarking at that largest of Indian cities. This 120-mile trip up muddy, treacherous waters, hemmed in by stretches of desolate, flat country interspersed with patches of jungle, obscures the glamour and dims the ardor of our arrival.

The fourth alternative is to disembark at Colombo* and cross the twenty-two mile channel between Ceylon and India after an overnight journey by Pullman from Colombo. We shall then land at Dhanuskodi, a tiny town on that burning spit of land which is the southernmost tip of India. But there we shall be 2,600 miles south of our first destination, the Khyber Pass.

There are two other points of ingress, one from Thibet and the other from Afghanistan, both exciting and adventurous pathways, but we can cross neither of these frontiers on an initial trip into India. Thibet lies in the Himalayas, and while it is possible, with much danger and difficulty, to make journeys into this soaring country, traversing it from China is quite an impossible feat for any but expert explorers. Therefore we can enter from Thibet only after a transient exit from India. As for the Afghanistan road, only a "Lawrence" could travel safely through Russian Turkestan and across the rugged and barbaric Afghan country; but were this exploit accomplished, the Khyber Pass would still have to be transited, and no one, unless on some extraordinary diplomatic mission, is permitted to penetrate this corridor from the Central Asian terminus except as a returning émigré after an exit sanctioned by British officials.†

---

*Ceylon, an island approximately half the size of New York State, is a Crown Colony having no political relationship with India except that both are distinct units of the British Empire. Colombo, its important port, is the "Charing Cross of the East," for all boats that ply between South Africa and India, Australia and England, China, the Straits Settlements, Burma, the east coast of India and Europe, stop there to take on coal or oil.

†I have made brief treks into both countries, on excursions *from* India, and wish we could make similar expeditions, for exciting adventures would be assured, but they would necessitate our leaving the field of our Indian explorations, and we have much to see to the south of the Himalayan wall.

Of the four optional ports, Bombay obviously offers the most interesting introduction to Hindustan, so let us journey there.

Once we cross the threshold of the subcontinent, we shall not linger or pause at any city, for each municipality is an intensified, and sometimes noxious, composite of Indian life, surfaced with European habit. There the strange interminglings of the ultra-modern with the ultra-ancient are confusing and distracting, so we shall come back to the cities after we have "eaten their bread and salt" and lived, for even a little while, "the lives they lead." We shall go swiftly through Bombay's gateway and travel rapidly north, across the plains of Hindustan and the plateau of the Punjab, to the very Khyber itself, the keystone of India's security. It was there that every Asian race, every Asian tribe, began its Indian immigration or invasion. There we shall appropriately begin our Indian exploration.

Trail of the Frontier Mail

Ferocity increases in costume, countenance and country as we speed north on the Frontier Mail. From the luxurious comfort of a first-class compartment, we watch with fascinated gaze the rapidly changing landscape as we climb steadily, swiftly, the abruptly ascending country of the Western Ghats. Until we reach a vast high tableland, the outlines of these rugged mountains loom darkly on either side.

Innumerable third-class compartments stream behind us, crowded with masses of soft-eyed Hindus and aloof Moslems who give way to increasing numbers of fierce-eyed, barbaric hillmen and their veiled, braceletted women. One cannot but speculate as to what lure could have taken these hawk-nosed, hawk-eyed tribes-people from their scowling, barren hills.

Sun-baked plains now stretch relentlessly as far as the eye can see, interspersed with scattered villages of mud-walled huts. Caravans of scornful camels, with fantastic trappings and mysterious, towering burdens, swing along in mile-long convoys, tail to nose, nose to tail, a writhing outline against the vivid sky. Untamed, untamable wilderness reigns supreme on every hand. Asia! Bombay shades into Western memories in sharp contrast with this caustic, savage country.

The morning of the third day our Punjabi servant awakens us at seven, bringing the customary chota hazzri of tea and toast. An unaccustomed cheer beams from his eyes and rings in his voice as he greets us. "Peshawar, Mem-Sahibs! Sahibs! We have reached Peshawar!"

Guardian of the Khyber

Peshawar* squats on a sun-scorched plain, 1,500 miles north of Bombay. Twenty-six hundred miles to the south, across widely diverse country, is the southernmost tip of India. Ten miles to the north, beyond a stretch of steaming sands, is the door to the Khyber corridor, a narrow gash which zigzags for thirty-three miles through lawless hills before debouching at the Afghan frontier.

This city of 140,000 inhabitants stands upon a ridge commanding the plains in every direction and controlling the entire water supply of a vast arid plateau. It is the most important and vital military garrison of India, the key to the Khyber, and the trading centre for all Central Asia.

Peshawar is the stop-gap that guards the fertile plains from inroads of predatory hordes of guerilla bands of Afridis, Shinwaris and other fierce brigands. These wild tribes, of fiendish courage and ruthless lust for plunder, infest the surrounding hills and those of Afghanistan, Russian Turkestan and western China, ever on the watch for opportunity to pour into India for spoil.

Under armed escort, the camel caravans wind through the Khyber bringing silks, rugs, carpets and humbler goods from the looms of Bokara, Kabul, Kashgar, and villages unknown to the white man's map, for barter at this world market.

The native quarters of this turbulent town are houses built of small bricks or mud, held together by a wooden framework to protect them from earthquakes. The bazaars are treasure marts of marvellous carpets and curious coppers. For a connoisseur of rugs, amply provided with courage to brave the terrors of the lawless throngs that surge in and out of the stalls, this is a shoppers' paradise. To the artist, the tortuous and irregular streets swarming with Punjabis and Sikhs, their heads swathed in bright-colored turbans, Mongolian-featured traders in exotic costume, brown-skinned counterparts of Shylock in Kashmiri dress, and Hindus and Moslems from all India in Western suits and Gandhi caps, are kaleidoscopic figures of exciting color. Milling crowds shout and argue in shrill voices. Soapbox orators harangue the rabble in inciting keys. Now and then groups are whipped into action by the vehement exhortations of these instigators and rush off with waving caps to parade the town, gathering momentum as they go until they tire of their own commotion, or the Gurkhas or British troops restore order by marching in formation through the streets, rifles on their shoulders but cartridge magazines in their pockets.*

---

*Pronounced Pe-shaw′war.

Only the noise of the mob may disturb us in our comfortable quarters at Dean's Hotel, in the European section. After an excellent dinner we shall retire early in preparation for the thrilling venture ahead, for, providing it is a Tuesday or Friday, we shall penetrate the Khyber.

To the Outermost Rim!

Now that a railway runs through the gorge we may choose this conveyance. When the British Government announced in 1919 that a railroad was to be built through the Khyber, many a head that had grown both gray and wise in the Indian service shook dubiously. Similar attempts had been made in 1879 and 1898, only to be abandoned because of sniping raids and ferocious attacks of the fierce Afridis, self-appointed Kings of the Khyber. Continuous warfare with bordering states and attempted invasions of guerilla hordes made transportation of troops and supplies to the northern end of the Pass even more imperative. Since construction was impossible in the face of such bitter opposition, an astute plan was devised for engaging the warring Afridis and Shinwaris to build the railway themselves, under British supervision. This co-operation was accomplished by the payment of an enormous subsidy, an expensive triumph of diplomacy.

---

*It is a stringent regulation of the British army that no officer may command his men to fire, even though attacked, unless the district has been declared to be under military control.

The resulting railway is an outstanding marvel of engineering accomplishment which has justified the cost. Rising quickly from the plateau by loops and spirals, in a distance of five miles it attains an additional height of 1,000 feet. Penetrating a deep canyon, it continues to rise for another eight miles to the summit of the Pass at Landi Kotal. The descent to the Afghan side is as sensational. Altogether, in the twenty-seven miles of its length, it passes through thirty-four tunnels and crosses numbers of bridges, also notable feats of engineering.

Subsidies are necessarily continued for safe running of the trains. But as these are only partial insurance, every station of the railway is a fort, and every train crew is paid a munificent bonus for taking the chances of sniping and attacks from straying bands of savage raiders. Every train is watched by the eagle-eyed tribesmen, hidden behind rocks and in the solid stone caves of the desolate slopes.

Whether by train or car, to attempt to travel through the Pass unescorted by militia is to court eternity. Whichever route you choose, we shall have an armed guard of Khassadars.* The motor journey, however, offers greater variety of drama. We shall gain a keener idea of the Khyber's natural strength and rugged wildness, and we can stop, whenever we like, to watch the outbound and inbound caravans as they wind along this grim highway of the Aryan race.

In the freshness of the morning we pass through the city gates and move swiftly across the thirsty plain. Straight ahead the jagged hills rise sharply from the veldt. As we near their sterile heights, we can distinguish a great cleft in the jaundiced walls, the entrance to the chasm. Almost in the shadow of the parapets of Jamrud Fort, we pause at the Khassadar post to pick up our armed escort. Very imperial we feel as we are joined by this bearded, bayonetted lashkar.*

---

*The Khyber militiamen, a force enlisted from the local Afridi tribesmen who are loyal and dependable.

Four Royal Air Force planes drone overhead patrolling the veldt and hills. The previous day a flying officer had been killed by a ground bullet when he had dropped to 600 feet to observe the manœuvres of the Afridis, who have gone to ground in a perfect network of underground hives. These vandals have enlarged caves and crevasses with pick and shovel until they are ideal "funk holes." These are anxious days on the north frontier, for not only the Afridis are storming Peshawar. Back in the tangled mass of hills the Hadji of Turangzai and his son, Badashah Gul, lurk with their robber bands in burrowed strongholds. The Hadji has high hopes of seizing Peshawar with help from the Indian Communists within the city. His brother-in-law, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, leader of the "Red Shirts" who brought about the bloody April† riots, is now imprisoned. But his revolutionary followers within the citadel stealthily send information to the Hadji by "Red Shirt" volunteers who hide within the native village until nightfall. They then steal along the winding paths that lose themselves among the rocks and caves, safe from observation under cloak of the darkness. While the Hadji waits for the hoped-for sig-

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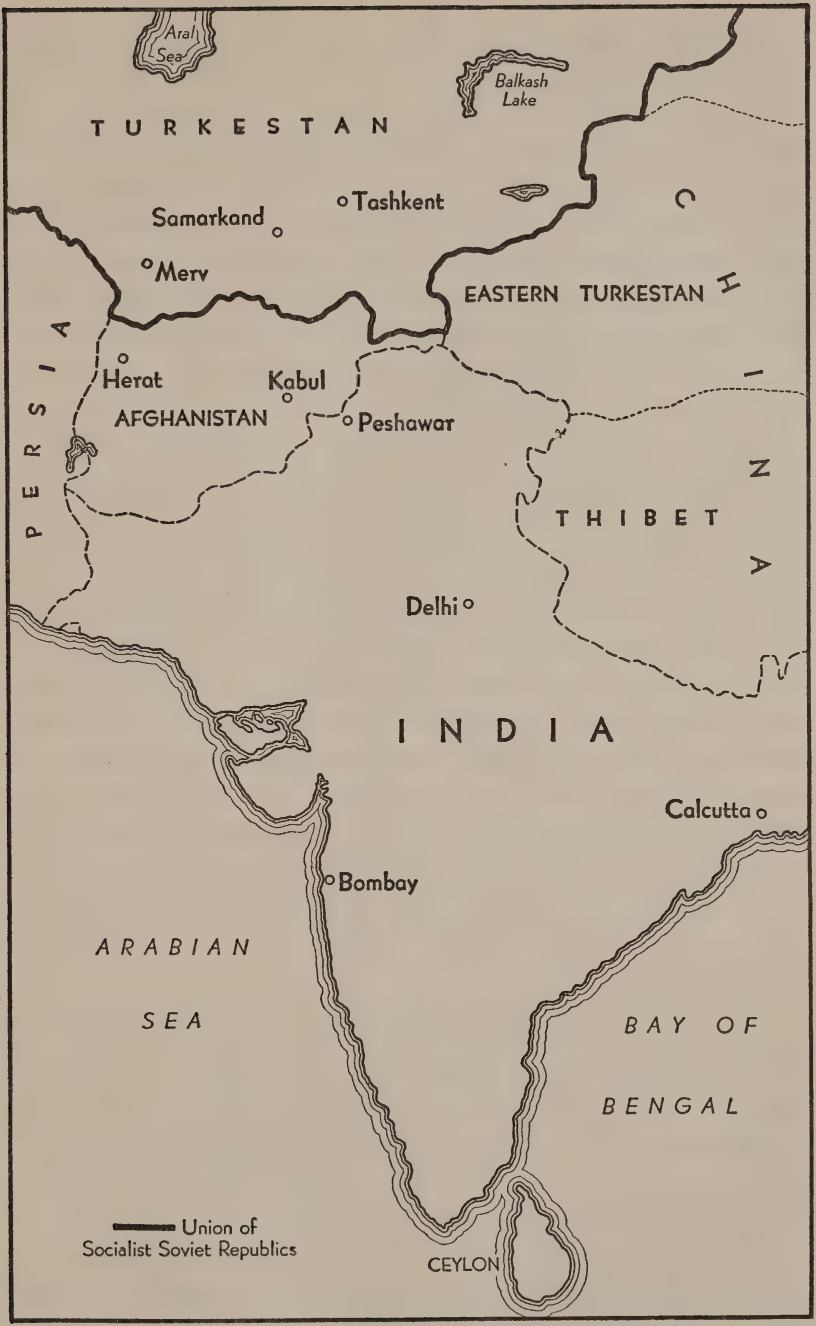
*Armed detachment.

†April, 1930. Our visit takes place the following month. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, vice-president of the Congress of the North-West Province, was released from custody at the time of the general amnesty in February, 1931. In August, 1931, he accompanied Mr. Gandhi to the conference with the Viceroy following Mr. Gandhi's refusal to attend the London Round Table Conference. He is known as the "Gandhi of the North-West Frontier." The New York *Times* of May 22, 1930, carried an interesting article on the activities of the "Red Shirts" and of their marching from Utmanzai, their headquarters northwest of Peshawar, through the surrounding villages, all shouting "Long live Revolution!" All wore turbans, shirts and baggy trousers typical in cut of the Pathan costume, but these garments were especially dyed a vivid red to proclaim their political tendencies and their organization color. As *The Times* said: "There are manifest traces of Communist inspiration in the 'Red Shirt' movement and the propaganda of the Youth League. . . . Here, then, is some indication of the things which have served to join Mahatma Gandhi's civil-disobedience campaign in the south with the much graver menace of the frontier. . . . The 'Red Shirt' movement has been working hand in glove with the New Youth of the Mother Country Association, which is the frontier equivalent of the Youth League that has been stirring up so much revolutionary feeling in other parts of India. The Red Shirts' present leader, Mian Jaafar Shah, is one of those returned emigrants who were taught the doctrines of bolshevism at Tashkent in Russian Turkestan, which is no farther from Peshawar than Delhi is. Tashkent is a town where the Soviet has established a school of Indian propaganda. Side by side with the 'Red Shirts' works the Youth League."


Aral Sea
Balkash Lake
TURKESTAN
Tashkent
Samarkand
Merv
CHINA
EASTERN TURKESTAN
PERSIA
Herat
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
Peshawar
THIBET
Delhi
INDIA
Calcutta
Bombay
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Union of Socialist Soviet Republics
CEYLON

nal from within the fortress-town, his 10,000 impatient guerillas keep up harassing attacks.

It is not as easy as one might suppose to fight these savage bandits. By day the scouts of the Air Force keep up a continuous reconnaissance, but at the first sound of an airplane's drone the hawk-eyed sentries give the alarm and the tribesmen dive into their underground fortresses, leaving the landscape to stretch its treeless, bushless sands in monotonous expanse. The flyers drop gas-bombs and smoke-shells into suspicioned caverns, but the Old Fox has dug interlocking caves, end on end, so he is not always smoked out even if they are his hives.

Leaving the Khassadar Post, we move rather slowly toward the mountain wall until we reach the Jamrud Fort itself, the great stronghold that immediately commands the corridor. The parapets above its sandstone walls are protected by sandbags, making the fort appear like a moving-picture set for another "Beau Geste." We are halted before a barbed and loopholed gate which bars the road. Passports, permits, our official authority, are scrutinized with minute care by the Khyber guardsmen. A huge book is brought to the car, in which we inscribe our names, births, parents, homes, temporary residence, *et cetera.* While we wait for the officer's sanction, a battery of fresh-faced, bright-cheeked Scottish lads swings through the gates, followed by beturbaned Punjabi gunners and sturdy Nebraska mules laden with howitzers in sections. Mules, our car, and ourselves: what a curious combination of American products in this far world!

As we leave Jamrud we gain speed once more and rapidly climb a broad zigzagging road. Once over the first ridge, a deep chasm between forbidding peaks confronts us. The Khyber itself! Entering the narrow gorge, we wind up and up and around and around the jagged walls. Arid, desert slopes tower threateningly on either side. No wonder Omar was inspired to write his Rubaiyat! How could he feel himself other than a transient spark when such stark age so sternly hemmed him round and stared so relentlessly down upon him! We wind dizzily through the barbaric hills, dun-colored under a blinding, blazing sky. We pass the drab mud walls of another fort. Wonder of wonders, a tiny clump of dwarfish trees splash vivid green against the mud! Only the blazing blue of the vaulted skies had hitherto broken the usurping chrome of tawny hills and tawny trail.

Suddenly we drop into a crevassed canyon and penetrate the gorge of Ali Masjid. Stories of General Sir Sam Browne's seizure of the stronghold thrill the memory. We have descended so far that we can see the waters of a trickling stream. As we turn a curve we come suddenly upon an inbound caravan. The disdainful camels are laden with swaying loads and beautiful Bokara saddle-bags. Silver-studded trappings, set with turquoise, ornament the shaggy beasts; and ropes of sky-blue beads and tinkling bells are strung around their necks. The number and kind of camels and asses set a tribesman's wealth, but the camels alone are his pride and joy. The convoy's armed escort salute and march sternly onward, eyes front. But the hawk-nosed, hawk-eyed drivers stare insolently, while the younger keepers forget to lash their unruly camels onto the road as they grin impertinently and wave a greeting. "Salaam, Sahibs! Salaam, Mem-Sahibs. Sal-a-am! Sal-a-a-am!"

Up, up we climb again, steadily, swiftly, between the scowling walls. More miles we ascend and turn and wind, sometimes passing violent-looking tribesmen stalking down the trail, rifles strung over their backs, another swung in the crooks of their arms, "45's" bulging from belts. These are "deputies" who prowl the roads in the pay of the British. Suckled in fiendish courage, they kill for joy and kill for lust. But in these "bad" times it is more profitable to take the British money and collect the toll of the caravans, than loot the lot. So two days a week these "Kings of the Khyber" permit themselves to be "deputies" of Britain.

Eight miles from Ali Masjid we pass through the barbed wire gates of Landi Kotal, the greatest stronghold in the Pass. The sentries in the watch-towers above the stern, stark ramparts are the only signs of life within the mighty fort. But clusters of mud-walled hovels clutter the encircling area, a noisy village of Afridis, Shinwaris, Mohmands and other Pathan tribesfolk. Stalls and bazaars line the road, for this is a way-station and caravansary for passing convoys. Vendors of fierce mien and guttural tongue study us menacingly as we pause before a gas-station. Native troops snap to attention as we exit through the gates of the precincts of the fort. One of our guards cheerfully tells our servant that two sentries were killed by snipers the night before at that very gate. Sniping is a favorite outdoor sport of the hillmen, and no undue significance need be attached to the incident. Such a "petty" happening would not have been mentioned had we not been slowed up by the Moslem burial party.

Leaving Landi Kotal we are only 3,500 feet above sea-level, but we make a steep descent of 2,000 feet to Landi Khana, the last foothold of British India on this edge of civilized government. Here the Indian trail suddenly debouches across the Kabul River into Afghanistan.

We do not descend the river. We travel up the saw-toothed ridge of a mountain that rears above the stream. Thick tangled barbed wire blocks the end of the road, but broad footpaths continue up. We alight, but two sentries with bayonets bring us to a halt. We plead anxiously. Our bearer pleads dramatically. We are king-emperors and queen-empresses from America! Four dark eyes regard us dissectingly, but the bodies budge not an inch. Our Khassadars' commander rips out a string of words and displays a long, mysterious document. The sentries click to the side and we dig our heels into the rocky path and climb.

The river curves very gracefully far below us and, as we stop to view the panorama, a tireless outbound caravan winds slowly, sedately, down the deep ravine. Only eighty more miles must they carry their mysterious burdens before they reach Kabul! We follow them until the hindmost camel disappears into the hills, the dark, treacherous hills of Afghanistan. At last we continue the ascent, and then, scaling the topmost spur, we stand spellbound on the outermost rim of India!

Silently we gaze with awe and wonder at the stupendous sweep of grandeur. Behind us roll bleak brassy hills. Before us stretch waves upon waves of mountains that give way to a magnificent cordon of snow-crested peaks gleaming gloriously, defiantly, in the brilliant sun. Giant mountains, these, which touch Turkestan and border the far point of China.

Enraptured, we gaze into the heart of Asia. Many thousands of years, we ponder, had rolled over those weary hills and glorious mountains before Alexander led his Greeks through this mighty gorge. The Aryan hordes and Moghul conquerors had all swept through that chasm far, far below us and beheld those snow-capped peaks. Suddenly the overwhelming age of this old world strikes the mind like flint on steel. "Thousands upon thousands of years!" Yes, we quite understand. The Aryan hordes, Alexander and his Greeks, Mahmud of Ghazni, Timur, Babur, they all are vibrant, living mortals. They travelled that eternal road at our feet. They journeyed the Khyber's gash even as we. History walks beside us: graphic truths, explicit events.

We linger on, soul-stirred by the panoramic splendor. The far snow-spires pierce the celestial sky. "This is the way," they seem to beckon. "Only the heavens are infinite."

Is there another landscape in all the world so stirring? I doubt it! Don't you?

CHAPTER II

VENDETTA OF THE KHYBER

Geography reigns supreme in India. It dictates political boundaries, determines social movements and limits ethnical expansion.

The geographical features of every continent have arbitrarily affected the lives and destinies of its inhabitants. Desert and mountain barriers have deflected or opposed the natural flow of all racial emigrations. Occupational, intellectual and political developments have usually been based on the natural aspects of a people's country.

But only in India has geography remained in paramount control. Until the British challenged the barriers of mountain walls by forcing railways and postal communications upon the country, and defied the desert wastes and monsoon floods by harnessing the streams and irrigating the arid zones, geography was undisputed despot over all those within the land. To-day it is a limited monarch within, but still an absolute dictator to those without. To all who sought ingress from Asia, geography imperiously pointed to the Khyber Pass and declared: "Here only may you enter." That decree was engraved in stone and ice. Every migration that propagated the present inhabitants was compelled to obey it. Every migration of the future must obey it. Geography is permanent king of the frontier. Its permanent law is: "The Khyber is Key to India."

Geography, the King

India is the greatest fortress ever created. This great triangular peninsula, jutting out from southern Asia into the Indian Ocean, is protected on two sides by the sea and guarded on the third by the imperious wall of the highest mountains on earth, the Himalayas. The central portion of this bulwark is the strongest, an impassable double-walled barrier that rises abruptly from the Indian plains to towering heights of eternal snow. The southern wall ascends sharply to a height of four miles, its jagged line of peaks, many reaching over 25,000 feet in height, culminating in Mount Everest, 29,142 feet above sea-level. These crests subside on the northward into a series of dips, some of which are no more than 13,000 feet in height. Beyond these dips rise the northern chain of Himalayas, a second wall of soaring ice-capped mountains. Between these great barriers lie the line of valleys, or trough, in which two of the three great Indian rivers gather their waters. From the northern side of the mighty trenches rises Thibet, a vast tableland 16,000 feet in elevation which is interspersed with many peaks of over 20,000 feet.

The heights between Thibet and India are covered with perpetual snow, while vast glaciers, one of which is known to be 60 miles in length, slowly move their masses of ice downward to the valleys. This wild region of western China, of which Thibet is nominally a part, is mostly impenetrable to man and nowhere yields a route for the movement of many. Bold parties of traders, wrapped in sheepskins, force their way across its 18,000-foot-high passes, using as a beast of burden the little yak cow, whose bushy tail is manufactured in Europe into lace. Yaks can toil up the steepest gorges with heavy loads, but they are hardly practicable for an invading host. Sheep are used to carry bags of borax, sugar and cloth from markets near the plains. But only two million of people dwell in the whole 500,000 square miles of Thibet and few of them regard the plains of India with desire. They are an unprogressive folk immersed in their religious traditions of Lamaism, a modified form of Buddhism.

The imperial range of the Himalayas varies in width from 80 to 100 miles and extends approximately 1,500 miles in length before subsiding at both ends into foothills which curve southward.

The Indus and Brahmaputra are the two great rivers that rise not far from each other in the giant trough of the icebound no-man's land. The third, the Ganges, receives its waters from the southern slopes of the Himalayas. The Indus and its great tributary, the Sutlej, turn southward through openings in the mountain wall, and, joined by shorter rivers of the Punjab, flow in one mighty stream through the Sind Desert into the Indian Ocean after a course of 1,800 miles. The Brahmaputra, on the other hand, strikes to the east, coursing behind the Himalayas until it finds a passage through clefts on the northeastern corner of Assam through which it drains into the Bay of Bengal, also after a course of 1,800 miles. These two great streams of India, having a long secret existence in the valley between the double mountain walls, coming from a practically uninhabited land before they pierce the hills, flow to separate seas, their mouths 1,500 miles apart. They bring life-giving fertility, but no inhabitants, to the Indian plains.

The hills into which the Himalayan range subsides are outworks which guard its flanks. On the northeast, they direct the main stream of Mongolian people toward the river basins of Indo-China. Between their Burmese slopes and the Brahmaputra are wild hill-regions and tractless jungle and fever swamps. They are so effective a barrier that the people of Burma and the people of Assam, the easternmost province of India proper, are of totally different races and blood. Infiltrations of folk have seeped through these districts as well as through Thibet, but necessarily they have been small parties of immigrants.

On the northwest, the hilly offshoots run down the entire boundary to the Arabian Sea. This western barrier is pierced at its corner, where it strikes southward, by the Khyber and a few smaller passes to the south which form gateways into India from Baluchistan and Afghanistan. Those from Baluchistan are of little moment as they are narrow defiles that lead from arid desolation to desert wastes in India. The passes from Afghanistan are also wild and narrow, permitting the inflow of small bands of tribes, but the Khyber is the most powerful in width, depth and length.

For centuries the 6,000-mile coast line was too distant for access by the primitive boats of any except savage islanders, many of whom were too primeval even to know of the Indian riches. When mariners were able to reach its shores, fever swamps and harborless coasts repelled their efforts to land. So for ages no invasions were attempted by sea. The virile tribes were to the north and they were barred by the immense curved chain of mountains with only one broken link, the Khyber.*

Every invading host from the unfertile heart of Asia has been compelled to run the gauntlet of the Khyber ramparts. Its palisades have resounded to the battle-cries of hostile ingressors for four thousand continuous years. Thus the Khyber is despotic controller of India.

The Plains of Plenty

This Pass is the corridor between the fallow steppes of central Asia and the fecund plains of India, it is the gateway between an existence of privation and a life of plenty. The endowers of this plenitude are the Himalayas, which not only protect this great subcontinent but perpetually feed and enrich it. Their towering walls not only shut out enemies, they shut in volumes of moist vapors that smash against their heights, then descend to quench the thirst and hunger of the plains.

Vast quantities of steaming moisture are exhaled from the sweeping expanse of tropic lands and tropic seas. This hot vapor hangs over the torrid areas until the monsoon winds set in from the south in June, driving it with steady force against the impassable heights of the Himalayas. There it is collected and stored, either as snow or rain. The volumes of water that descend from the clouds, as the result of their smashing against this wall, are so great that where the monsoon first strikes the hills in Assam 523 inches of rain fall annually. In one year, 1861, as many as 805 inches fell from the heavens. The average annual rainfall of the United States is 36 inches; that of the plains of India which benefit from the monsoon is 12 to 84 inches; that of the portion directly in the path of its deluge is 450 inches, more than enough to float the largest ship that sails the seas.

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*There are six passes near the Khyber itself, of which three are popular. I speak collectively of these passes, as the actual Khyber is far the most important.

These downpours cover the slopes and valleys with the richest and densest forests in the world and wash their rich dank mould down into the plateaus and rivers which carry the fecund silt into the plains. The streams rush with gradually decreasing speed toward the sea, splitting into networks of channels as their progress is impeded. Their offshoots are arteries of life-blood which fertilize and irrigate thousands of acres. Every autumn these vast areas are top-soiled and renourished by the impregnating silt swept down from the mountains. Successions of teeming and copious crops result from this ceaseless bounty. Thus the Himalayas drink the life-blood of the tropics and deny food and drink to the heart of Asia while they pour life and wealth into India.

But this continuous endowment has been costly, for privation has fired the Nomad tribes to leave their unfertile steppes and dare the dangers of the Khyber in order to seize the treasures and prizes of Indian plains. Down the ages successions of tribal inroads have challenged the Khyber, some for loot, some for settlement in the bounteous Plains of Plenty.

Challengers of the Corridor

The hordes who have dared the Pass have varied from fighting Nomad settlers to raiding Tartar pillagers. The drama of their ceaseless efforts for four thousand years makes the Khyber the most romantic and historic as well as the most strategic point on earth.

Because we are told on many sides that we Americans are descendants of the less-cultured branches of the Aryan tribes who were the ancestors of present-day Indians, and also because of its histrionic fascination, and the light it throws upon the present-day problems of India, the history of the early challengers of the Khyber proves particularly illuminating.

THE ARYANS

The first peoples whom we can definitely trace into India came through the Pass somewhere between 2400 and 1500 B.C., 2000 B.C. being generally accepted as a mean date. They called themselves "Aryan," literally meaning "of proud lineage," and we can follow their migration from the steppes of central Asia by the indelible pathway of language and their ultimate literature. Somewhere in the heart of Asia was a great common camping-ground of people who spoke a similar language, called Aryan. Whether these peoples were also similar in blood and color we do not know, but we are certain that branches of tribes speaking a language of similar grammatical root migrated in different directions from these Central steppes. One of the Western offshoots built Athens and Sparta, another erected Rome, another colony excavated the silver ores of prehistoric Spain, others settled in England and worked the tin mines of Cornwall and still others migrated to Scandinavian shores. All these peoples as well as those who travelled southeast into India developed languages from common roots. They are all therefore called "Aryas" as a general term.

Max Muller, distinguished authority on comparative philology, states: "Aryas are those who speak the Aryan language, whatever their color, whatever their blood. In calling them Aryas we predicate nothing of them except that the grammar of their language is Aryan."* He declares: "The blue-eyed and fair-haired Scandinavians may have been conquerors or conquered, they may have adopted the language of their darker lords or their subjects, or vice versa. I assert nothing beyond their language. To me an ethnologist who speaks of the Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair is a great sinner."†

Whether the early invaders of India therefore had any blood kinship with those who migrated west, we do not know. But we are certain that they were a vigorous people, who asserted their superiority over the earlier tribes whom they found in possession of Indian soil in the same manner as did those

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*"Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryas," page 245.
†*Ibid.*

Aryans who went to the West. The religions of all the Aryan-speaking peoples also have common origin. The ancient creeds of India and Europe were to a certain extent made up of the same sacred stories or myths. Several of the Vedic gods were similar to those of Greece and Rome. But from the time the Aryas separated in central Asia to take divergent paths, their developments of speech and religions likewise diverged.*

The Aryas who poured through the Khyber were a hardy race of Nomad tribes who had roamed over the grassy steppes with their cattle, making long halts to raise crops of grain. They employed tamed animals, used iron weapons, wove cloth, wore clothes and ate cooked food including beef. While they were an agricultural and pastoral people, they were also warriors employing spears and battle-axes as well as chariots built to carry a driver and a fighting man into battle. Their penetration of the Khyber in search of new grazing lands continued over long periods of years. In powerful bands they fought their way into the Punjab and vanquished the Aborigines whom they reduced to servitude or thrust back from the plains into the fastnesses of the hills and the mountains. The history of this advance and the conquering of the Aboriginal tribes is told in the Vedas, the literary memorial of these tribal movements, the first records being ascribed roughly to about 1500–1000 B.C., after the Aryas had settled in the valley of the Indus.

The Aborigines, or non-Aryans, were tribes of a prehistoric world. No written record exists of the histories of these primitive people who dwelt in India previous to 2000 B.C., the use of even the simplest hieroglyphics being unknown to them. Even their traditions tell us little, and the sole work of their hands which has come down to us are the rude stone circles and the upright slabs and mounds beneath which they buried their dead. In their tombs are found iron weapons and ornaments

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*Mr. Will Durant claims: "India was the motherland of our race." ("The Case for India," page 4). This statement is a contradiction of Hindu and European data. The Vedas are the oldest records in the world and these sacred scriptures tell of the *entry into* India of the Aryas from Central Asia; they do not claim any *exodus* of their people from the subcontinent. Although there are schools of thought which differ as to the probable locality of the cradle of the human race, to the best of my knowledge they all agree that the Aryas who populated India entered from the north.

of copper and gold. Many of these primeval people were never absorbed or enslaved by the Aryans. Pushed back into the mountains, they hid in the caves and forests, retaining to this day their archaic speech, customs and religious practices. Not from fossils or bones, but from living specimens, can we study these fragments of rude civilizations.

From their language their origin has been traced to three stocks: first, the Thibeto-Burman tribes, who seeped into India from the northeast and still cling to the skirts of the Himalayas; second, the Kolarians, who also seem to have entered Bengal by the northeastern passes and settled along the northeastern ranges of the central tableland which covers the southern half of India; third, the Dravidians, who found their way into the Punjab by the northwestern passes, but who gradually pushed southward until they inhabited the southern part of the three-sided tableland as far as Cape Comorin, the southernmost point. So the hardiest tribes of these composite people, who roamed the country of India before the Aryan invasions, also came through the Khyber, but when, we do not know.

The story of the Aryan victories and the subjection of the tribes they found inhabiting the land, and the social and religious system they evolved from these strata of peoples, is the story of Hinduism.

THE GREEKS

The next peoples to traverse the Khyber were the Greeks. With the entry of Alexander the Great and his army, the external history of India begins.

Some indirect knowledge of and trade with India had reached the Mediterranean by way of Persia. Homer was acquainted with Indian merchandise by their Sanskrit names, and a long list has been made of Indian products mentioned in the Hebraic scriptures. The knowledge of Herodotus (450 B.C.) ended at the River Indus, and Ktesias, the physician (401 B.C.), brought back from his residence in Persia only a few facts about the dyes, fabrics, monkeys and parrots that had arrived there from across the Indus. India to the east of this great river was first made known to Europe by the historians and men of science who accompanied Alexander the Great through the Khyber in 326 B.C.*

Marching into the Punjab, the Greeks found the country divided into petty kingdoms, so jealous of each other that they did not bitterly oppose the invasion. From Alexander's own letters, Plutarch gives a vivid description of the incursions. In one battle, Plutarch relates, Alexander crossed the Jhelum under shelter of a tempestuous night. Next day his chariots stuck in the mud of the river-banks and the slippery ground further handicapped his soldiers as they were unable to make full use of their bows and arrows, which they were accustomed to draw after resting one end of the bow upon the earth and pressing it with the left foot. However, the superb generalship of Alexander, the greatest strategist the world has ever known, won the day.

The Indian army under Prince Poros consisted of 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, 300 chariots and 200 mighty war elephants. These great beasts were terrified by the Greeks and, refusing to attack, wheeled around and trampled their own army under foot. Altogether the Indians lost 12,000 dead and 9,000 captured, while the total casualties of the Greeks were only 1,000. The principal cause of this overwhelming Greek victory was the consummate generalship of Alexander, who proved himself an astute diplomatist as well as military leader when, after taking Prince Poros a prisoner, he secured the permanent loyalty of the Indian general by making him his ally.

Advancing into the Punjab, Alexander continued his victorious march, erecting several memorial cities and numerous magnificent temples. His troops worn out by the heat and broken in spirit by the hurricanes of the monsoon, Alexander finally turned back across the plains, regretfully abandoning his ambition to cross the Ganges. Building a fleet of boats, he floated 8,000 of his troops down the Sutlej into the Indus. The remainder of his army he marched in two divisions along the banks, stopping en route to build a Greek fortification where he left a division of his soldiers, for he contemplated returning to continue the subjection of India. With new and larger boats he proceeded down the Indus, through the Sind, until he reached the ocean somewhere near the modern city of Karachi. There he beheld, the first time in his life, the majestic phenomenon of the tides.

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*Alexander remained in the neighborhood of the Khyber until May, 326 B.C., when he crossed the Indus and started his campaign in northern India. "Even in the north [of India] all approximate dates before the invasion of Alexander in 326 B.C. are obtained only by reasoning back from the known to the unknown. The earliest absolutely precise date is that just named, 326 B.C." ("Oxford History of India," page xiv.)

Shipping one part of his army up the Persian Gulf, he led the remainder through southern Baluchistan and Persia, a previously untrod route. The troops suffered terrible privations of food and water, many dying from thirst as well as disease. Alexander himself never reached the Mediterranean, for he died at Babylon in 323 B.C., his life shortened by the Indian campaign.

In the partition of the Greek Empire, which followed Alexander's death, his Indian possessions were allotted to his second-in-command who later founded the Syrian dynasty. After a period of confused years and minor incursions, all Greek efforts ceased in the direction of India.

To-day there are few evidences of the Greek campaign in the cities which have grown around the structures he built. Beautiful coins, sculptures and stupendous temples, particularly in Kashmir, bear witness to Alexander's visit, but with one exception, the science of astronomy, the Indians were unaffected by the invasion, not a single one of their historians so much as mentioning it. If they had adopted the military science of Alexander, particularly his shock tactics of cavalry, the Hindus might have been able to repulse the Moghuls when they victoriously swept into India in the sixteenth century under Babur, who used the same tactics.

On the other hand, the Greeks carried back records that are invaluable in studying the life and development of Hinduism. We shall read from some of their data when we follow the evolution of this social and religious system. Until Vasco da

Gama took back stories of Indian life after his trading expeditions in 1498 and the beginning of the sixteenth century, no material additions were made to European chronicles of India.

THE SCYTHIANS

To the east of the old Arya camping-grounds in Central Asia, dwelt numerous Mongoloid tribes. It is believed their insistent pressure propelled the movements of the Aryas toward the west and south, constituting as primary a reason for the Aryan migrations as the lure of new grazing lands.

Swarms of these Tartar tribes, called Scythians for want of a better name, moved east into China and south into India. Their invasions extended over a long period of time, but they poured into India with particularly great force during the century preceding the birth of Christ.

Rushing through the Khyber in great hordes, they first conquered the Greek settlements left in the Punjab, and then extended their power until in the beginning of the Christian era they held in their grasp a strong monarchy in northern India. This kingdom expanded until it reached all the way from Agra and Sind in the south to Yarkland and China on the north.

The Scythians adopted Buddhism* (which already had been renounced in India), making great changes in its teachings. The resulting religion was carried back to central Asia, China and Japan to become the predominating faith of those countries.

While the Scythians were spreading their dominion in India, Attila and his Huns, kindred tribes of the Scythians, were sacking Europe. After dominating Hungary and south Germany and destroying the Burgundians on the Rhine, Attila pushed into France as far as Châlons where, in 451 A.D., he was defeated by the Nordic Visigoths under Theodoric.

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*Many historians hold that Buddha, the great reformer and purifier of Hinduism, was of Scythian descent. He was born in India approximately five hundred years before Christ. To-day Buddhism is professed by more people than any other religion in the world, although it is almost non-existent in the home of its birth. 11,400,000 Buddhists are listed as Indian citizens but only 4 per cent of these are Indians, 96 per cent being Burmese, who are ethnically foreign. Burma is included in the Provinces under the Government of India for political convenience of administration only.

In India the Scythian Huns were paramount for a longer period. In spite of continual attacks from the numerous Hindu kingdoms, as late as 535 A.D., Greek traders took back word to Europe of the powerful nation of the Huns in northern India.

The last Scythian kingdom was finally crushed in the eighth century, the peoples becoming absorbed in the Indian population, and not expelled from the country, as were Attila's hordes in Europe. Such eminent authorities as Sir H. H. Risley, V. A. Smith and D. R. Bhandarkar state that from one of the Scythian clans, the Gurjara, the present Rajputs,* were mainly if not wholly derived. A large proportion of the fierce tribes of the Khyber frontier as well as one-half of the peoples of the Punjab are universally held to be Scythian descendants.

The Scythic inroads were the forerunners of a long series of invasions from eastern Asia and China that poured through the Pass into India for fifteen hundred years.

THE AFGHAN CONQUERORS

Due to the present critical stage of Indian political affairs, we find succeeding incursions of particular interest. Sir Tej Sapru,† one of the most conservative leaders of Indian politics, who vainly appealed to Mr. Gandhi in the summer of 1930 to put an end to civil disobedience until after the Round Table Conference in London, and who, as a consequence, was denounced as a traitor by Gandhi, declared on November 17, 1930, to that conference to which he was a delegate: "Never before in her history has India been governed by agents and subagents. Moghuls and Mohammedans have come as invaders but have settled down, becoming men of the same country and part and parcel of our social system." This statement by one of the most moderate of Hindus, as well as numerous avowals by radical leaders and Indian politicians in journals and on lecture platforms that India was a prosperous, peaceful,

*The fighting caste of the Hindus, which supplies many rulers of present-day native states in India.

†Formerly an advocate of the Allahabad High Court and Law Member of the Government of India.

and placid country until the British came to impose their foreign rule* and, with political malice, to disrupt the communal calm between Moslems and Hindus, prove enlightening data as to the Indian poverty of concrete thought when we read the crowded record of conquering Moslem aggressions that rushed through the Khyber in unremittent sequence between 977 A.D. and 1526. These years comprise the first division of an epoch of internecine warfare between Islam and Hinduism which has never ceased and even now gives no promise of termination.

The first collision of lasting effect between Mohammedans and Hindus took place in 977, when Jaipal, the Hindu chief of Lahore, who had been constantly harassed by Afghan raids, led his troops through the Khyber against the Moslem kingdom of Ghazni, in Afghanistan. After severe fighting the Afghans were victorious, but they allowed the Hindus to return to India on the promise to pay 1,000,000 dishams (about $125,000). The Brahman priests proclaimed it an insult to keep faith with a "barbarian," and urged Prince Jaipal to refuse to pay the ransom, but the warriors implored him to keep his word. While the Hindus argued, the Moslems of Ghazni swept in fury through the Pass. Afghan raids became Afghan invasions. Thereafter they held both ends of the Khyber.

With the dawn of the year 1000, Mahmud of Ghazni, son of the victorious Afghan King, began his subjection of India. In 1001, on the plains of Peshawar, he defeated the Hindu hosts, again led by Jaipal. According to Hindu custom, a twice-conquered prince was deemed unworthy to reign. Therefore Jaipal mounted a funeral pile and, after solemnly making over his kingdom to his son, leaped into the flames. This notable victory by the sixteen-year-old Mahmud was the beginning of his ascendancy. In the thirty-three years of his reign he extended his father's small Afghan kingdom far into the Punjab on the east.

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*The late Lajpat Rai, prominent Indian Nationalist and resident in the United States from 1914–1919, where he was president of the Indian Home Rule League of America and of the Indian Information Bureau of New York, is one of those Indians to whom I refer. In his book, "England's Debt to India," he pictures just such conditions, and on page 3, for instance, claims that, "Under their own codes, the peoples of India were prosperous and happy." This quotation epitomizes the message of his book.

Seventeen invasions Mahmud of Ghazni led through the Khyber in twenty-five years of fighting. Each onslaught was fiercely and bitterly contended by the Hindus, but each ended in a further strengthening of the Mohammedan foothold in India.

A fervent Moslem, Mahmud earned the title of "Idol Breaker." His sixteenth and most famous expedition was directed in 1024 A.D. against the Hindu temple at Somnath. Following terrific repulses, he took the town after the Hindus had lost many thousands of fighters. Entering the fortified temple, Mahmud was offered enormous ransom by the priests if he would spare the great phallic symbol of Siva. But Mahmud cried out he was a breaker, not a seller, of idols, whereby he clove the lingam of the god with his mace. Forthwith a vast treasure of jewels and gold poured from its vitals. Mahmud promptly carried off the treasures to his Afghan kingdom, as well as the sandalwood gates of the city. In 1842 Lord Ellenborough brought the gates back from Ghazni. You may see them, or what many claim to be only imitations, at Delhi.

Every one of the seventeen incursions are wrapped in legend and story, not only of Mahmud's valor, but of his wisdom and piety. Fascinating chronicles are the records of these adventures of a Moslem knight-errant. However much time may have gilded and embellished his exploits, his invasions were all valiant victories.

Mahmud of Ghazni is venerated as a glorious apostle of Islam by Mohammedans, but despised by the Hindus as a ruthless barbarian who plundered their temples with a ruling passion of avarice.

Mr. Ghandi and many of his lieutenants, as well as numerous other Indians, are spreading the word in interviews and books that India has always been a country of peace and conciliation and that it is the British who instigate the racial hatreds and feuds between Hindus and Moslems. One of our own well-known authors* writes: "In India religious sects have dwelt together under the same rule in as much or more peace

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*Upton Close (Mr. Josef Washington Hall) in *World's Work,* July, 1930.

than they have in Europe and America. It is political manipulation of religious feelings that has caused bloodshed." Another exponent of these ideas in America is Doctor Jabez Sunderland, who says: "Wherever in India the British are most in evidence, there the riots are usually worst; wherever the British are least in evidence, there riots are generally fewest. Before the British came to India, there seems to have been little hostility between Hindus and Moslems; everywhere they seem to have lived together for the most part peacefully and harmoniously."*

It is interesting to keep these statements of Indian and even American authors in mind when we read this condensed glossary of authenticated historical records. No tolerant endeavors or constructive movements have been omitted. There weren't any. The unmentioned reigns and years were of less importance but of equal gore.

For a century and a half after Mahmud's death, in 1030, his successors continued to hold his Indian territories as an Afghan province. Then the chief of Ghor, King of a rival Afghan town, captured Ghazni and dragged its principal men to his own capital, where he cut their throats and used their blood in making mortar for its fortifications.

After triumphing over Ghazni, Muhammed of Ghor proceeded to subject the Hindu provinces. On Muhammed's first attempt to add to his dominions, the Hindus, fighting with

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*"India in Bondage," page 230. Doctor Sunderland does not support his statements with facts or figures. He is evidently more of a social worker than an historian, for he is in error concerning even such recent events as the memorable battle of the Marne, regarding which he states: "As is well known to every one at all perfectly acquainted with the history of the Great War in Europe, it was the splendid Indian Army, brought over with the greatest possible haste to France, when war was declared, that turned the tide at the first battle of the Marne, beating back the German advance and saving Paris from capture." Mr. Edward Thompson, noted missionary educator in India and author of many books, including "Reconstructing India," ironically comments on Doctor Sunderland's statement: "Since the Marne was fought between September 5 and 11, while the Indian army was still in India, this must have been achieved by telepathy." (The London *Times,* July 23, 1930.)

Doctor Sunderland has made two visits to India, in 1895–1896 and in 1913–1914, as "Special Commissioner and Lecturer to India." On his return to New York in 1914 he became, to quote again from his volume, page xvii, "intimately associated with that distinguished Indian leader and statesman [Lajput Rai] in active work for India. I became editor of the monthly, *Young India,* which he had established in New York and also became his successor as president of the India Home Rule League of America and of the Indian League of America and of the Indian Information Bureau of New York."

fierce desperation, routed the Afghans and chased them for forty miles. Gathering together the wreck of his army at Lahore and aided by new Afghan hordes, Muhammed marched again into the Indian plains, where quarrels and internal warfare prevented a united opposition. The three Rajput states of Delhi, Ajmer and Kanauj formed natural breakwaters against all invaders from the Khyber, but feuds disrupted them, enabling Ghor to defeat and slay the Rajas of Delhi and Ajmer and seize those states before demolishing Kanauj. After these terrific slaughters, the Rajput Hindus quitted their homes in large bodies rather than submit to Ghor. Migrating to the regions bordering the Sind Desert, they founded the military kingdoms which bear their name to this day—the States of Rajputana.

Most of these events we learn from the records of Persian writers,* but some of them from a ballad-chronicle, one of the earliest poems by a Hindu bard. The Persian and Hindu accounts agree that the jealous feuds of the Rajput rulers were the basic cause of Hindu defeat at the hands of the invaders, who marched victoriously into the plains, seized Benares and Gwalior, conquered Behar and even lower Bengal.

Keeping up a series of sanguinary campaigns, Muhammed had little time to consolidate his conquests. Acquiring the title of Sultan, he continued to defeat rather than subdue the Hindu states. He was finally stabbed to death by a traitorous tribesman.

Muhammed of Ghor had been no religious knight-errant of Islam, like Mahmud of Ghazni, but a massacring conqueror. His goal was the grasping of provinces, not the smashing of temples. He left the whole north of India, from the delta of the Indus to the delta of the Ganges, under Moslem dominion. Following his death, his generals set up kingdoms of their own. Of these leaders Kutab-ud-din was the most famous.

Kutab controlled from Sind through Bengal. He founded the Slave, or Pathan, dynasty, because he had been born a slave in Afghanistan, and several of his successors rose by valor or intrigue from the same low condition to the throne. Establishing his capital at Delhi, Kutab made India for the first time the seat of residence of a Moslem sovereign.

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*The official recorders at Moslem courts in India were usually Persians, as they were the most erudite scholars of the time. Persian was the Court language of the Moslem and Moghul dynasties until 1837.

Raiders from Tartary

The Slave dynasty, which lasted until 1290, was beset with the three perils every Moslem rule had to combat in India: rebellions of its own generals and viceroys of provinces; revolts and attacks of the Hindus; and fresh invasions, chiefly Mongoloid, from central and eastern Asia, that rushed through the Khyber.

During the reign of Altamsh, the third and greatest Sultan of the Slave Kings, Chingiz Khan, the Mongol chieftain, pierced the Pass and swept into India.

Chingiz Khan was the Mongolian leader who conquered northern China and western Asia. The impelling rush of his barbarian hordes swept up through Mongolia, down through the centre of Asia, through Samarkand and Afghanistan into India, slaying the vanquished inhabitants, men, women and children, literally by the millions. According to Mr. Lothrop Stoddard in his "Rising Tide of Color," this scourge of Asia and Europe slaughtered more than 18,500,000 human beings in twelve years. After sacking Merv in Russian Turkestan, the corpses numbered more than 1,000,000; after Herat was seized, 1,600,000 were butchered. Every city of central Asia fell under the gory hands of these Mongols. The sole discernible motive seems to have been blood-lust, for plunder could not have caused this merciless butcher and his tribesmen to commit their almost unbelievable horrors. Many once-populous provinces have never recovered from this destruction. The cities of Russia and Poland were burned, their people tortured and massacred, with the consequence that development in Europe also was retarded for centuries.

Chingis Khan burst through the Khyber, but, fortunately for the Hindus, he was unprepared to cross the mighty Indus. In his rush to murder, he did not stop long enough to build boats, so this mighty stream, much more than the repulses of the Hindus and Moslems, sent the Mongols back through the Khyber to continue their bloody pathway into central Asia and Europe. All southern Russia, Poland and Hungary collapsed before them.

When Chingiz Khan died in 1227 he ruled a gigantic empire extending from the China Sea to the Black Sea. His son led the unchecked and relentless rush of the Tartars into Europe until, in 1241, they were halted by the Nordic armies at Wahlstatt in Silesia. Thereafter they constantly poured into India. His grandson, Kublai Khan, completed the conquest of China and established the Yuan dynasty in 1260. Kublai Khan was too busy ruling his colossal empire to attempt to victimize India, but his armies conquered Burma and Annam as well as Korea and invaded India again and again.* His empire stretched from the Black to the Yellow Sea, and from northern Mongolia to the Himalayas and Indo-China.

Some of Chingiz Khan's bands of Mongol brigands were left behind in India. They gave constant trouble, occupying and demolishing Lahore in 1241 and making many inroads into Sind. They were tenacious barbarians, as may be judged when it is recalled that their brother Tartars retained control of the Crimea down to 1783. Many of those left in India were finally absorbed by the inhabitants, as were the Scythians, while the others joined the Mongol invasions that continued unremittingly.

A glance at conditions within India at this time will enable us to understand why the narrow corridor of the Khyber was not forcibly closed to these savage inroads. Each Slave King had to fight the Mongols, the wild Indian tribes, such as the Gurkhas and the hillmen of Mewat, who ravaged the provinces almost up to the Delhi gates, as well as the Rajputs, whose revolts at this time foreshadowed the inextinguishable vitality of the Hindu fighting races which were to harass, from

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*Mr. Upton Close, in referring to Indian advancement under British rule, states, in *World's Work*, July, 1930: "It would probably have been a slower and yet healthier growth if India had been left to such influences as have been brought to bear upon China."

first to last, the Mohammedan dynasties and to outlive them. Under the Slave Kings even the north of India was only half subdued by Moslem power. In Malwa, Rajputana, Bundelkhand and along the Ganges and the Jumna, the Hindus kept up disconnected but ceaseless attacks on the Mohammedans. One description of the warfare of the period runs:

> Ulugh Khan Azam [Balban], by stroke of sword, turned that mountain tract upside down and pushed on through passes and defiles to Sirmur, and devasted the hilltrack, and waged holy war as by the faith enjoined; over which tract no sovereign had acquired power, and which no Musalman army had ever before reached, and caused such a number of villainous Hindu rebels to be slain as cannot be defined or numbered, nor be contained in record nor in narration.

As for the immediate affairs of the kings, Balban, for instance, who was the last but one of the Slave Kings,* had assisted previous to his reign in the Moslem government. He had been one of forty slaves attached to the Sultan Altamsh. As soon as Balban succeeded to the throne, his first care was to execute the survivors of the forty serfs in order to relieve himself of the dangers of rivalry. There were no scruples prevalent in Asia about blood-shedding.†

While maintaining pomp and dignity at his courts, Balban terrorized the country. He secured his despotism over the provinces by an organized system of espionage. The spies who failed to report correctly were hanged, while the provincial governors who disobeyed his edicts were publicly scourged or beaten to death in his presence. Balban himself crushed every revolt with merciless skill. To quote one of the old Persian accounts:

> By royal command, many of the rebels were cast under the feet of elephants and the fierce Afghans cut the bodies of the Hindus in two.

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*Balban (1265–87) was a contemporary of Henry III and Edward I of England.

†This is no inference that Asia was the only arena of barbarous warfare. The feuds of contemporary Europe were both sanguinary and cruel. But when such notable Asians as Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Mr. Gandhi claim a past and a present of undisturbed spirituality and tranquillity in India until the country was subject to the "suffering of your [Western] civilization" and "despoiled solely by Western ignorance and gross materialism," the records of Indian contentions down the centuries prove striking contrasts to present Indian indictments.

> About a hundred met their death at the hands of the slayers, being skinned from head to foot; their skins were all stuffed with straw and some of them were hung over every gate of the city. The plain of Hauz-Rani and the gates of Delhi remembered no punishment like this.

Nevertheless, the Rajputs of Merat continued to revolt, so Balban extinguished almost the lot, putting 100,000 to the sword. He then cut down the forests which sheltered their retreats and opened up the country to tillage. "He fell upon the insurgents unawares, and captured them all, whom he put to the sword. All their valleys and strongholds were overrun and cleared, and great booty captured. Thanks be to god for this victory of Islam!"

However horrible the cruelty of Balban may appear, seeming to differ little from the atrocities of the Mongols, his methods were not more remorseless than those of other Moslem or Hindu rulers of the period. In addition, he maintained a certain degree of order in rough times so that, when he died, it was deplored that "all security in life and property was lost and no one had any confidence in the stability of the kingdom."

The miseries caused by the Mongol hordes forced fifteen once independent kings and princes of central Asia to flee to Balban's magnificent court for shelter. He boastfully called the streets of Delhi after the names of their late kingdoms, but fearfully gave his bounty to these refugees because he himself was pervaded with terror of a Mongol invasion on a large scale and wanted them as allies. It was mainly because of this constant terror that he did not attempt to increase the extent of his dominions.

Following the brief reign of another slave, the Pathan dynasty came to an end. In 1295 Ala-ud-din fought his way to the throne and, by intrigue and war, in the twenty years of his reign established the Moslem rule in southern India, hitherto the realms of the Hindu chieftains. Ala-ud-din is notorious for his siege of the Jaipur Rajputs in 1300 and the taking of Chitor in Rajputana. We shall learn more of these attacks when we study the Hindu realms.

During his twenty-year rule, Ala-ud-din met five major Mongoloid inroads. One Mongol raid he defeated under the very walls of Delhi after a two-months' investment. The histories of the day suggest a supernatural reason for this defeat and withdrawal, but there is evidence that the fierce Tartars were bought off by a huge ransom. The four other incursions he crushed in various sectors, slaughtering the Mongol soldiers and sending their chieftains to Delhi, where they were trampled by elephants.

When the Sultan Ala-ud-din was not repelling the Mongols, he was crushing the numerous rebellions within his own family by such object lessons as putting out the eyes of his insurgent nephews and then beheading them. Since the Punjab was being overrun continuously by Tartar bands, he took a number of them into his service. Finally these Mongolian mercenaries became so powerful that he found it expedient to massacre them in droves. About 3,000 Mongols survived, having been converted from their Tartar creeds to Islam. They settled in a suburb of Delhi which is still called Mongolpur. Great hosts of their tribesmen joined this settlement and finally conspired to overthrow the Sultan. Learning of the plot, Ala-ud-din slaughtered all the male settlers, estimated to be between 25,000 and 30,000 strong, and sold all their families into slavery.

While the Hindus were not independent of his sovereignty, they were never entirely suppressed by this Sultan, who began his rule as Afghan King of Hindustan, and ended it as Emperor of India.

The next dynasty of importance was the House of Tughlak. During the Tughlaks' reign of ninety-six years, the Tartars made numerous inroads through the Khyber. The second Tughlak wasted the treasures accumulated by Ala-ud-din, in buying off the Mongoloid hordes who again and again swept into India. At one time he sent an army of 100,000 against China; those who attempted the northeast corridor perished almost to a man in the Himalayan passes, while those who sallied to the northwest never traversed the Khyber, for they were slaughtered by Mongol bands.

Some of Tughlak's spies brought back word from China that Kublai Khan had extended the use of paper notes, which had been early devised by the Chinese. Finding his treasury exhausted, he decided to emulate Kublai Khan by issuing not paper notes but a currency of copper coins. His attempts to force his copper upon the people at a value equal to their silver brought about his downfall. So methods of the Chinese as well as their attacks were the destroyers of Moslem power.

Each Tughlak's death was followed by horrible massacres and revolts. In fact, every native reign is a gory record. Muhammed Tughlak, who ruled from 1338 to 1351, was the first Moslem chieftain of India who introduced a regular revenue system, and naturally the collection of taxes caused many internecine rebellions. These revolts were so widespread that the horrors which ensued plunged the empire into famine and disease. His reign was followed by that of Firoz Tughlak, who was forced to recognize the independence of two insurgent Moslem kingdoms, in Bengal and in the Deccan, as well as many Hindu territories. His greatest achievement was the construction of the old Jumna canal. This canal drew its waters from the Jumna River, near a point where it leaves the mountains, and connected it with the Ghaggar River by irrigation channels. Part of the waterway has been reconstructed by the British Government, and to this day it spreads fertility throughout its length. Firoz was able to achieve this great project because the incursions through the Khyber had subsided to a certain degree. However, that was only the quiet before the storm. Under the last Tughlak King, India was overrun by the overwhelming invasion of Tamerlane.

Amir Timur, or Tamerlane as he is called in English literature, was a Moslem Turk whose father was one of the earliest converts to Islam. Born in 1336, Timur gained the throne of Samarkand in 1369 and then began a series of distant conquests rivalling those of Chingiz Khan, who is believed to have been his ancestor. While Chingiz Khan had murdered for pure lust, Timur waged war with equal ferocity and cruelty in the name of Islam.

In 1398 one of his grandsons, commanding an advanced guard, successfully attacked several cities in northern India. The weakness of the Delhi Empire, the fabulous wealth of the country and the idolatrous creed of the majority of its peoples (Hindus) provided an inciting inducement to Timur. Gathering together a great force of 90,000 mounted tribesmen, he swept through the Khyber at the head of the united hordes of Tartary. Sacking the cities in his path and slaughtering or enslaving their inhabitants, he occupied Delhi after an easy victory over the Tughlak Sultan and his feeble forces. Proclaiming himself King, although he had no intention of remaining south of the Khyber, Timur held a great feast in honor of his victory during the massacre that raged in the city for five days. The streets of Delhi were "rendered impassable by heaps of dead" while Timur offered a "sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise to God." Stripping the capital of its great treasure stores, the accumulated wealth of generations, he swept back to Samarkand with the plunder, taking as prisoners all the skilled artisans he could capture, in order to employ them on the buildings of his capital, as well as a multitude of women captives. Leaving anarchy, famine, and pestilence* behind him, Timur returned to central Asia, and died there in the midst of preparations to conquer China, where he planned, with fervent anticipation, to slaughter millions of non-believers.

The atrocities and devastations of Timur's raid destroyed all semblance of a centralized government in upper India. The Tughlak Sultan crept back from his hiding-place in the mountains and continued a weak rule for a few years. His régime was followed by the ineffectual dynasty of another Afghan house, that of Lodi, which reigned until 1526 when another Mongol invasion, that of Babur, completely crushed the Delhi Sultanate.

Babur founded the great Moghul Empire of India, whose last representative died a British state prisoner at Rangoon

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*"Mr. Gandhi says: 'You [the British] say you protect the northwest frontier from invasion. Rather let us have the savage tribes. The Moguls came from there and gave us prosperity.'" (Mr. Upton Close, *World's Work*, July, 1930.)

five years after Great Britain took over the government of India in 1858. His was the last permanent incursion through the Khyber.

Zahirud-din Muhammed, known as Babur, literally the "Lion," was the most brilliant Asiatic prince of the age. Sixth in descent from Timur in the direct male line and claiming kinship with Chingiz Khan through a female, he united in his person the blood of the two most dreaded Asiatic conquerors, and yet he was worthy of a high place among the sovereigns of any age or country. At the age of eleven he ascended the throne of a petty Asian kingdom; a few years afterward he conquered Samarkand; later he added Kabul to his dominions and so came in touch with India, whose wealth immediately tempted him. During twenty-two years Babur grew in strength on the Afghan side of the Khyber, making frequent and rapid raids into the Indian plains. In 1519 he followed in the steps of Alexander the Great and besieged Bajaur, which had fallen before the Greeks eighteen hundred years before. Slaying its "infidel" defenders without mercy, Babur crossed the Indus and claimed the Punjab as his inheritance by virtue of descent from Timur. This raid was quickly followed by others, all preliminary reconnaissances for the great mission in 1526.

Babur knew that the Sultan's kingdom at Delhi had been weakened and lessened in area by frequent insurrections and withdrawals of growing Hindu states. This enfeebled kingdom, which had shrunk to the modern divisions of the Punjab, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and parts of Rajputana, lay between him and the vast array of Hindu realms. Candidly admitting the "great tremor and alarm" of his troops, he boldly and successfully attacked with a tiny army of only 12,000 men. The decisive victory was won on the great plain of Panipat, the first of three critical contests within modern eras that have determined the fate of India on that same battlefield, namely, in 1526, 1556 and 1761.

The Afghan Sultan of Delhi brought into battle an immense army believed to have numbered at least 100,000 men supported by a hundred elephants. But the "young and unexperienced Afghan,* careless in his movements, who marched without order or retired without method and engaged without foresight," was no match for Babur, a youthful Alexander. This young genius had brought an array of artillery to the field of action, a "new-fangled" weapon then coming into use in Europe and Turkey but previously unknown in India. Lashing together 700 bullock-drawn carts, Babur stationed them as a barrier facing the enemy, leaving gaps only sufficiently large to permit the charge of his cavalry. Led by Babur himself, the small body of invaders swept through the openings, made a furious cavalry wheel round the flank of the enemy, and delivered a charge in the rear. These were the exact shock tactics Alexander had used against Poros. The new artillery and the ancient strategy were too much for the defending hosts. When the sun set after the raging battle, the Sultan lay dead on the field surrounded by 15,000 of his soldiers. The Hindu hordes had fled in terror. "By the grace and mercy of Almighty God, this difficult affair was made easy for me, and that mighty army, in the space of half a day, was laid in the dust." Thus wrote Babur.

Having wrested India from the preceding invaders of his own Moslem faith, Babur triumphantly entered Delhi, where he divided the immense spoil of this city and that of Agra among all ranks of his victorious army. The summer heat became almost unendurable to troops accustomed to the cool hills of Kabul. They began to murmur as had the Greeks under Alexander. Babur, however, succeeded where Alexander had failed. He induced his men to advance their trail of triumph and to continue their subjection of the heathen Hindus who were constantly harassing him in the south.

With these placated troops and supporting Afghan chieftains, Babur began this colossal undertaking. The year following his Panipat victory, he defeated the formidable confederacy of Hindu States, at Fatehpur Sikri, near Agra, after a battle memorable for swiftly shifting perils. In his extremity, during the height of the fighting, Babur made a solemn vow never to touch wine again if he won a victory. This had been his besetting sin, but thereafter he kept his pledge.

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*The Sultan of Delhi, who was of Afghan descent.

Rapidly extending his dominions, which he judiciously ruled, Babur founded the great empire which was distinguished by such extraordinary magnificence it evoked the title of "The Great Moghul."

No dynasty, since the world began, ever produced six such super-eminent rulers, taken all in all, as Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, whose reigns covered a period of nearly two hundred years (1526–1707). But as its glittering splendors were unparalleled, so were the suddenness and completeness of its downfall. Within sixty years after Aurangzeb's death the "Great Moghul" empire was rent into fragments.

While the Moghuls reigned, onslaughts through the Khyber were perilous but not permanent. Each attack was repelled, though often at great cost.

After the splintering of the Moghul Empire, the Afghan invasions persisted with great damage until the British East India Companies assisted in their repulsion.

In the seventy-three years that Great Britain has ruled India, the government has repelled seventy-three onslaughts of varying violence.

As I write, the ferocious Afridis are storming Peshawar. They differ in no way from the invaders of the last one thousand years except that their chieftains are not such leaders as Chingiz Khan and Timur, in spite of the efforts of the Hadji of Turangzai to emulate them. While Gandhi exhorts his people to insurrection, the British are holding the Pass. Whether the present challengers will succeed in swooping into this land of promise to repeat the appalling atrocities and devastating destructions of the past ten centuries, we can only surmise.

While we study their problems and perils, and ask "When were the Hindus and Moslems ever at peace?" and Swarajist leaders are urging anarchy upon their peoples, hordes as savage as those of Chingiz Khan and Timur are threatening the lives and homes of the Indians. The British Air Force and the Gurkha troops are at this very moment holding back the tribesmen and fighting in the blood-stained gorge their formidable ally, that imperishable Horatio, the Khyber.

CHAPTER III

VIGNETTE OF HINDUISM

A Hindu Viewpoint

As we idle over our coffee on the balcony of the Taj Mahal Hotel, we can watch the dancing in the long white-and-gold ballroom. All smart Bombay seems to be moving to the seductive strains of one of the latest American jazz songs rendered by a London orchestra. The gorgeous silken robes and flashing jewels of dark-eyed Parsee beauties lend color to the English throng as they weave in and out with their dark-skinned escorts in full-dress evening coats from Saville Row.

"What fascinating charm the Parsee* women possess!" I exclaim. "Their Western wit and Eastern seductiveness make an irresistible combination."

"It is not well in the East, madame," objects our Rajput host. "They despoil the sanctity of the home by coming to such public places. They have no caste!" he adds caustically.

"But caste is very confusing to us of the West. It seems a sort of disordered kaleidoscope in which the oldest and newest ideas whirl around together in a most bewildering fashion. You, sir, are a Rajput, the second highest caste. You are here partaking of food with us who are 'unclean' according to your religion, being served by an 'unclean' Goanese waiter. If I may presume, how can you atone for this?"

"The divinely inspired Manu, our law-giver, recognized that the devout traveller should not starve merely because the castes of itinerant vendors were below his own. So in times of exigency we are permitted to waive our scruples and satisfy our hunger, but afterward we are cleansed by Brahman ceremony. If this were my home, I could not join you at dinner. Perhaps you have noticed that I have touched no meat and only bottled waters. Such was the provision of our wise and saintly Manu. In addition, I am a younger son and therefore not called upon to carry out orthodox laws to the extent my brother, the first-born, is obliged. I broke the regulations of my religion when I went to Oxford to study for my degree. As you perhaps know, it is forbidden to cross water and I paid penance on return to my country and received absolution for my sin."

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*The Parsees are descendants of Persians who fled to India in the eighth century during the flood of Moslem crusades. They retain their Zoroastrian creeds to this day. (See Chapter X, pages 299 and 300.) Many are rich and influential bankers or merchants, principally in Bombay.

"You speak of Manu. Is it true that the 'Institutes of Manu,' although formulated about the time of the birth of Christ, are the precepts that dictate, in detail, the family life of all Hindus and form the foundation of the system of jurisprudence of Hindu Law which is administered by the Privy Council and the High Court of India?"

"That is correct. The doctrines that to-day guide and govern all Hindus were evolved after my ancestors crossed the Indus and settled in northern India. The history of the growth of these tenets is recorded in the four Vedas, the literary memorials and chronicles of our migrations. Your Aryan ancestors did not make such ancient records of their movements, for our first compositions are ascribed to as early as 1500 B.C. Our dogmas reached their final development before Alexander and his Greeks came to learn our culture. These doctrines culminated in the 'Institutes of Manu,' the canons of our wise and saintly law-giver. They were formulated sometime between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. and were inscribed in classical Sanskrit."

"Oh, I know the Vedic literature is respected throughout the world for its antiquity, its unique character and its disclosures of early Indian life. But surely, altering conditions and changing customs have required the establishing of new statutes during the past two thousand years."

"Our customs do not change, madame. The Vedas in their voluminous entity are the Scriptures of Hinduism, they are inspired revelations, the word of our God, Brahma. The 'Institutes of Manu' are divine laws.* They are of greater wisdom than your Bible, for mankind does not change. If your Scriptures had been sagacious and spiritual they would be your laws to-day. Instead, the Christian peoples war among themselves and judicate among themselves. It is proof of the inadequacy of your prophets."

Only the saxophone within the ballroom breaks the thunderous silence.

"Perhaps our Bible teaches us to progress. But let us not compare our divine literatures. As for our warring and judicating among ourselves, your charge is deplorably true. But, it seems to me, India's incessant communal clashes and constant inter-caste hatreds and contentions, even on the floor of your legislative assembly, display *at least* equal lack of compassion. If our Bible has to bear the burden of our sins, then I'm afraid your Vedas will have to bear yours. If you'll pardon me, I think it would be better to discuss this subject on another occasion. But may I ask your opinion about an incident which was peculiarly interesting to us?"

"With pleasure, madame."

"Not long ago we heard a learned discussion between an English scientist and a Hindu scholar on plant life. The very night that this Hindu savant expounded the newest theories of biology, he upheld infanticide, claiming it is far better to kill girl-babies as soon as they are born than that the father of the household should sell or mortgage his home or lose his caste because he is unable to pay the price for a husband of suitable caste. He even claimed such atrocities are upheld by Hindu theology!"

"But he is right, this learned Hindu. Is it not far better that a child should never live than that she should impoverish her family in order to purify herself by marriage? If the father is not a man of wealth, how can he otherwise be fair to his sons? Why should a Hindu mother be so cruel and selfish as to permit a girl-child to live, thereby bringing suffering upon her family?"

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*Manu is often termed the Moses of Hindu Law. We learn from Doctor G. Buehler's translation, "The Laws of Manu," that the statutes dictate the rules for magic rituals, for religious ceremonies, purifications and penance, for sacrifice of animals and human beings, child marriage, the burning of widows, and such customs and practices, as well as the regulations concerning diet, marriage and inheritance based on the caste system.

My companions are so aghast they are stunned into speechlessness. While our Rajput friend views us with benign tolerance, I study the ascetic brown face, the wide, high forehead, the kindly brown eyes. This man is a graduate of Oxford, a lawyer of impeccable standing who is respected by Indians and English alike. A voice is crooning to the dancers: "For you want loving, and I want love."

"Why should a girl be compelled to marry? Why should her father have to pay for her husband?" my companion protests. "I know that eminent Indians uphold the custom, but even Tagore, whom we recognize and admire as a moral philosopher and writer, finds no responsive chord of American understanding when he upholds the practice of child-marriage.* I know of no principles involved that we can appreciate, much less endorse. I have studied your Vedas. Vedic law did not require marriage until a girl was twelve!"†

"Ah, dear lady, you speak of the early Vedic laws, when the pure blood and noble strain of my race were not threatened by the debased Aborigines. After my ancestors came into this country and encountered the savage Dasyus, our Gods instructed us to form castes and ordained that we marry like unto like, and not defile the more noble of our bloods with even the lower of our own strains, much less with those of the sordid Aborigines. Child-marriage purifies the race.‡ We protect the virtue of our children; we preclude the pernicious custom of unnatural indulgence; we sanctify our daughters by the ordained sacrament of marriage. We marry them in their infancy so that they may not disgrace their family or offend their religion. Our chivalrous traditions prompt us to refuse to marry our daughters into any lower castes. We are not tempted by worldly wealth to sully them by unions with men of lower strata or to sell them beneath our station. Our laws are stringent and stern. We punish and banish, sometimes to the depths of 'uncleanliness,' the father who sanctions such dishonoring of his girl-children."

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*"The Book of Marriage," by Keyserling. Pages 112–113 record Tagore's explanatory defence.

†"So eminent a Sanskrit scholar as Doctor Bhandarkar has held that there was really nothing in law or in the Hindu scriptures to make it obligatory upon a Hindu to marry his daughter before she is twelve." (Sir H. H. Risley, in "Peoples of India," pages 199–200.)

‡According to Baudhayana (Hindu lawbook) a girl who is unmarried when she reaches maturity is degraded to the rank of a Sudra, and her father is held to have committed a grave sin by having neglected to get her married. This rule is upheld by all the law books. Many of them go farther still and fix a definite age for the marriage of girls. The later the treatise, the earlier is the age which is prescribed. According to Manu [Laws, IX, 94] a man of thirty should marry a girl of twelve, and a man of twenty-four a girl of eight. Later writers fix the higher limit of age in such cases at ten years or eight years, and reduce the lower limit to seven, six and even four years.

"You do not sell your daughters? Why, you admit you barter them to men of higher rank! Yet your *sons* may marry beneath *their* caste."

"Yes, they may, which is another advantage of child-marriage. The girl is given by her father not only to the husband but to his family. In childhood she receives the training of her new household with grace and alacrity. She is thereby happier in her married state."

"And so the father is soon relieved of the 'curse' of his daughter!" I answer bitterly.

"A daughter, madame, is the penalty of sins committed in a former state of existence. Only when she receives the sacrament of marriage is her soul cleansed of the taint of original sin. Then only does she accomplish the salvation of her father and his ancestors. When she brings forth a son to carry on the domestic worship of her husband's family, she is a respected woman."

I constrain myself from asking why all Hindus don't become Mohammedans, since the Moslems have a prevalent tradition that Mohammed was born of man. The despised girl-babies could then all be abolished to the satisfaction of the Hindu world of men. To make such a query would be the worst insult I could offer my host, so of course I say nothing of the kind, but I can't resist a sardonic question which he accepts as earnest inquiry, though it is evident he is deeply shocked. "Why, then, do all Hindus marry? Why take the chance of propagating girls and reproducing your own mother?"

"A Hindu must marry in order to beget children proper to perform his funeral rites lest his spirit wander uneasily on the waste places of the earth."*

As much as we realize the sincerity of this scholar, we hear the strains of "God Save the King" with an inward sigh of relief. We feel the need of a breathing-spell of American thought.

"Good-night, my friends. I wish you a most happy journey. I am very content that you depart to-morrow for Chitorgarh, for there you will see the proud ruins of a glorious city. Our religion there bears sublime proof of its strength and purity, for not even you marvellous Americans can offer an example of such courageous and noble women as those of Chitor." Touching his hand in obeisance to his forehead, he is gone.

An American Speaks

Our train not departing until the afternoon, we lunch at the Yacht Club with some Americans who live in Bombay.

My companion bursts out: "Is it really true that all families in straitened circumstances kill their girl-babies if they are not assured of marriages into acceptable castes?" All eyes focus on her.

"Well, it is hardly a sporadic custom. But who told you about it?"

"Mr. —— was our host for dinner last evening. He was a student at Oxford at the same time my uncle was there. He defended the pernicious practice! I wonder what my uncle will say when he hears that!"

"He's one of the most Westernized Hindus in Bombay. Both the English and American colonies like him. He has some marvellous horses that he exhibits at Willingdon,† the sports club to which we both belong. Unorthodox as he is, I'm surprised that he was so candid. The English never mention infanticide if they can avoid it, for they are so appalled by their failures in tracing the crimes, in spite of extreme endeavors.

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*"Sir H. H. Risley, author of "The Peoples of India" (see page 154 *et seq.*), confirms this statement as well as many others of my Hindu friend.

†A handsome club named in honor of the former Governor of Bombay and the recently appointed Viceroy of India, the Earl of Willingdon.

Why, at first the Hindus were incredulous that the English law really made infanticide a crime. Once realization rushed over them by a few forcible examples, they became very clever in neglecting a child instead of strangling or poisoning it. With the whole Hindu community aligned against the British for such 'oppression,' it is practically impossible to establish intent in cases where deliberate exposure has taken place."

"Oh, but surely these people are savages to do such things! I could comprehend such atrocities in primeval tribes. I know that in ancient times it was not unusual for a man to kill his daughter so that some savage cave-man wouldn't have a chance to take the father's head as an incidental trophy of the successful capture of the girl. But tribal raids are things of the archaic past. That Hindu of last evening is a cultivated English-educated lawyer, outwardly the most kindly of souls!"

"But, my child, he *is* sincere and kindly, as many other Hindus are. Hinduism has been infused in these people for so many generations that contact with England and America only furnishes a top-dressing to their customs. It would not be difficult to change their views if they were doubtful of their creeds or malicious or cruel in their motives. But, all too often, to them our crimes are virtues, and our virtues crimes. They sincerely and devoutly believe infanticide is, at times, justifiable. It is practised not only in homes of the lower castes but in those of high castes of diminished wealth. Manu's laws are very strict as to the qualifications of marriage. A girl must marry her equal or superior in a specified community. If the number of caste-men who are suitable for her particular family is limited, infanticide is perpetrated. So not only because of financial stringency, but because of a community lacking the men of proper caste qualifications, a father kills his daughter to save her soul from condemnation to Hindu hell and himself and family from damnation to 'uncleanliness' and his descendants from curse unto the third generation."

"Well, that's something; girls are at least considered important enough to be able to cause a lot of damage. But seriously, I've heard a lot about the purity of Hindu thought, and

Hindu teachings, but I've never been able to learn a single pure particular when it came right down to concrete fact. Contact with practical Hinduism certainly strips it of idealism. And now I see the practices are even worse than the preachings!"

"I understand how you feel, and I agree with you that applied Hinduism seems pretty degenerate according to Christian instincts and beliefs. I abhor Hinduism, but I do like many Hindu people. A native friend of mine told me that it had taken him years to see the ultimate good and justification in the practice of infanticide. After working with him for months, I was able to intercede in his behalf in a legal matter. After that we got to know each other rather well, and one time when I was a guest in his home I accidentally learned of a case of such a crime in a nearby household. It was my first encounter with the practice, and I was so upset that my friend confided what a long time had elapsed before he had been able to face the matter in its 'correct light.' When he was only nine years old he was taken to his mother's bedside to assist in the rituals preceding and following the death of a new-born sister. Since his father was absent, it fell upon him, as oldest son, to act in the place of his father. The little girl baby was placed in his arms and the midwife poured large jars of icy water over the baby's body. Her little face distorted and the poor little thing convulsed. The horror-stricken boy was terrified as the body of his sister stiffened and died in his arms."*

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*Sir H. H. Risley, the eminent anthropologist, relates a similar instance ("The Peoples of India," page 175) and then goes on to say: "The mother complied reluctantly with the barbarous usage of the family, but the horror of the thing was with her through life, and when she was dying, her remorse conjured up a ghastly vision of the spirits of her murdered children standing at her bedside armed with iron hooks and crying vindictively to the soul still lingering in her body, 'Come out, come out, that we may tear you in pieces!' This, however, happened nearly fifty years ago and my friend assures me that in his tribe, at any rate, systematic infanticide has disappeared under the influence of popular education, and that twenty girls may now be seen where in his boyhood hardly one could be found." The paragraph continues: "However, one is hardly prepared to go to the length of asserting that infanticide is now nothing more than a dim tradition of the dreadful past. On the contrary, the practice is definitely stated to continue, though in a modified, more subtle and, as many think, less merciful form. According to the writers of the last three census reports, all of whom seem to have taken much trouble to arrive at the truth, the mental attitude of the average Punjabi parents toward superfluous daughters may be summed up in Clough's couplet: 'Thou shalt not kill, but need'st not strive officiously to keep alive.'"

The American continued: "My friend sympathized with my agitation but, to this day, he is confident that some time I shall see the wisdom of the custom."

My heart goes out to my companion, a newer-comer to India than I, as she fights to force back the tears.

"This is a terrible, terrible country. Why don't our churches send more missionaries to this dreadful, cruel place and stop this awful thing?"

"Why, didn't you hear your Hindu friend of last evening, in tones ringing with righteousness, justify these acts? You can't force missionaries on the higher castes. They look upon *us* as the ones unenlightened. Even Mahatma Gandhi takes this attitude and upholds Hinduism.* But in the south, among the 'Untouchables,' missions from various nations are doing wonderful work, although Hinduism is so strongly imbued in the converts that they continue to classify themselves as 'clean' or 'unclean,' and retain their caste names. Look here, I think you had better not go into Hindu customs in their realities. I understand your reactions and realize how you feel. When it comes to business I fight the English like old Ned, but I must admit, along with every one else who stays out here, that they are doing a tremendous and admirable job throughout this whole country. One reason they don't talk about it is because they are disappointed themselves in not changing conditions more rapidly. With continuous blockades placed in the way of law enforcement and with Mr. Gandhi and his Swarajists dishonoring the law's prestige by civil disobedience, it beats me how they've accomplished what they have. They aren't missionaries but, by Jove, they certainly have done and are doing an overwhelming amount of good."

"To read the papers back home, you'd never think it," interposed the girl.

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*The New York *Times,* on March 22, 1931, quotes an interview with Mr. Gandhi in Delhi as follows: "Asked if he would favor retention of American and other foreign missionaries when India secured self-government, Gandhi answered: 'If instead of confining themselves purely to humanitarian work and material service to the poor, they limit their activities as at present to proselyting by means of medical aid, education and such, then I would certainly ask them to withdraw. Every nation's religion is as good as any other. India's religions are adequate for her people and we need no converting, spiritually.'"

"I know, and nothing so antagonizes me when I go back on leave as some ignorant substantial citizen asking, 'Why do the English permit such atrocities?' Permit? With 3,500 civil servants and 60,000 troops? As it is, they've done miracles, but as soon as I say so, good folks back home deplore the fact I'm a renegade American turned British. If the whole United States moved over here, we'd be outnumbered almost three to one. You can force laws upon a people, but you can't change their thoughts. In Hindu opinion, you see, we are the 'unclean' barbarians and they the cultured and refined race. Its like some one speaking Greek to me. I don't 'get' them. The Indian doesn't 'get' our code of what is fine, what is merciful, what is pure. He classifies us as poor souls not knowing any better."

Here in this English world of the Yacht Club, talking to our own kind, even our own countrymen, the little dead bodies and the ever-beseeching brown children who block every step as we walk the streets or explore the edifices, seem a nightmare procession from which we cannot escape.

"How can you stand this country and its awful customs?"

"One gets used to the revolting habits and, after a bit, India's fascination subtly permeates one. It's an enthralling country, really, and the European colonies have their own particular spheres of club and home life, so I have a pretty good time and enjoy living out here."

"Well, I guess we too will get accustomed to the odd mixture of past and present. We've been following the history of the Moslem and Mongol invasions through the Khyber. Even in skimming over the lengthy chronicles they make a bloodcurdling record. After our mere peep into the past, we can but wonder how in the world any people or any treasures are left in all India."

"And we got only as far as Babur!" chimes in my companion. "I was sympathizing with the poor slaughtered Hindus. Surely Mohammedanism must be a much more enlightened creed. Maybe Mahmud of Ghazni *was* a true Crusader!"

"You'd better forswear this pilgrimage of investigation and stay in Bombay and go to the polo match this afternoon."

"How are we going to understand the India of to-day if we don't pursue its past?"*

"You're right there, of course. But you have a gory path before you."

Heartbeat of India

Leaving our Moslem bearer, we shall take a Hindu servant with us to Rajputana, the heart of high-caste Hinduism. There isn't the intolerance in this province that exists in the Northwest, but we insure more pleasant treatment by employing Hindu servants and Hindu guides.

We find the entrance to Colabar Station, a huge modern structure, swarming with shouting, gesturing porters, their lean dark bodies naked save for a loin-cloth and a towering turban. The moment we step from our car we are mobbed by yelling coolies and shrill-voiced children, barefoot and filthy, pleading and begging for alms. Not a word can we understand save the "Mem-Sahibs, Sahibs," but the imploring voices and clawing hands are only too easily translated. Much determination it takes not to shower them with annas. But the sad-faced mothers standing on the edge of the mob of porters, watching with greedy eyes for the spoil their offspring may receive, recall to mind the beatings and blows we have inadvertently seen such mothers rain on tiny supplicants when other children were more successful in the scramble for coins. Holding on to our pity with a vice-like grip, we follow our imperious bearer as he orders back the clamoring rabble. He bestows the right to carry our heavy luggage upon a few carefully and haughtily chosen coolies. No one in this world is so scornfully oppressive to the workers as a bearer, except the upper castes. Arrogantly clearing our path, Narasimuloo, our servant, leads us to the barrier of the ticket collector where we are delivered from the pushing, begging throng, their voices now sunk to whines. Defeated, they rush off to harass other Sahibs or Mem-Sahibs.

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*"It is simply impossible to understand modern India even tolerably well without a moderate acquaintance with the past in which the roots of the present are so deeply buried." (Doctor Smith: "Indian Constitutional Reform Viewed in the Light of History," in the preface.)

"Nara," as we have decided to call our bearer, has unpacked the bedding-rolls in our compartments, placed pillows in the wicker chairs and on the wide divans where we shall later sleep, and set a bowl of mangoes on the table, together with covered glasses and a bottle of Evian. He brings us trays of tea at our first stop, and while sipping the refreshing drink we watch the passing countryside.

We are now traversing Hindu country, for the lowlands surrounding Bombay and stretching down its coast are Mahratta territory.* Straight ahead loom the Western Ghats, which form a formidable sea-wall between the fertile but malarious strip of land which fringes Western India and the southern tableland or Deccan with its irregular hill-ranges rising out of undulating plains. The Deccan is barricaded by mountains and dense forests from the plateau which lies between the Indus and the Brahmaputra, that great treasureland and battleground of the Moslem Empires. India is thus divided into three parts south of the Himalayas: the central plateau, the Deccan and the peninsula; each section being so segregated by precipitous defenses that for many centuries the welding of the whole country into one empire was denied by geography as well as by contention.†

Seventy-five miles north of Bombay we appreciate the forbidding character of the mountain barrier, for at Kasara an additional engine is attached to our train so that we can climb 1,000 feet of altitude in nine and one-half miles. Achieving these heights, we travel across the high plateau of the Deccan, the stronghold of the non-Aryan Dravidians until they were pushed by the Aryas south into the peninsula which they now inhabit, and journey across a territory of which every inch has been marched over, fought over, wept over.

Our destination is Chitorgarh, meaning the fort of Chitor, in the very heart of Rajputana, the highland country of the higher-caste Hindus. Rajputana is encircled by desert or arid expanses; on the south is the Deccan, on the west the Sind Desert, on the east and north, the central plateau, the country of the Moslem Empires.

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*The Mahrattas were fierce, Hindu tribes who fought well but not so gallantly as the Rajputs. They were but guerilla bands until the end of the Moghul régime, the geography of the country being partly responsible for their lack of cultural development.

†Mr. Gandhi designs to destroy the railways, which he calls "Instruments of the devil," and which defy the geographical barricades, so that India would be bound to return to primitive life.

Veering northward, we make continuous stops at wayside stations. Always there is the noisy crowd of natives getting in and getting out of carriages, the same "rounding up" by the guards of stragglers or those who have dashed to the side of the road to partake of "Water for Hindus" or "Water for Mohammedans," the same warning whistles and clanging of the bell, and then the vociferous departure. The people on the platforms and those in the fields appear instilled with brooding morosity and gloomy torpor. They seem to know no happy ground between the deafening clamor and the oppressive stillness into which their silence drops them.

Tawny foothills give way to jaundiced stretches of plains. We pass tracks where the husbandmen are stirring the soil with a crude bent plow, a duplicate of the ones his ancestors employed for three thousand years or more. Stolid bullocks slowly drag the primeval implements through the furrows. Outside the groups of huts without windows or chimneys, the women tend the fires of wood on which the millet is cooking for their evening meal. The blue smoke floats away across the stumpy trees. Little girls, pitiful miniature women in long skirts, sedately assist in prodding the hearth fires, while their less solemn brothers keep watch over the herd of goats or black buffaloes and wave skinny hands at the passing Sahibs and Mem-Sahibs. Heaviness, stupor, death-in-life. Manu in his "saintly wisdom" commands the husbandman to plow, to die. Manu in his "holy righteousness" ordains the wife to serve, to die. Dirt, filth, death:—Manu's teachings, Manu's law. Saintly Manu!

As our train sweeps on into the darkening night, I recall the expostulation of a Hindu priest on another occasion when I deplored the pitiful poverty of the Hindu low castes. "They do not deserve your charity," he protested. "You are wasting your condolences on iniquitous peoples. They have committed a dreadful sin in some past life or they would not need to labor. The souls of the low-castes are not fit for honor."

"Who determined their caste, you Brahmans, or God?" I tactlessly exclaimed. "Why doesn't Mahandas Gandhi offer definite reforms to advance these pitiful souls?"

"The Mahatma is a devout man. He reveres the word of Manu. I fear you are ignorant of our metaphysics. Madame does not understand."

Madame didn't.

The train makes more stops. The same hurrying, chattering crowds of natives with their omnipresent bundles tied to sticks swung over their shoulders, the same confusion on the platforms, the slamming of carriage doors, the clang of the bell, the impatient hoot from the locomotive, and the train moves on. Where are all these people going? Every station a crowd gets off, a crowd gets on. All India seems forever on the move. Looking back at the disappearing Hindu hamlet, we see that night and the departure of the train have deadened its life to somnolence.

As the darkness conceals the country, we close our eyes and ponder the history of caste.

Caste: the Despot

When the powerful Aryan bands fought their way through the Khyber and into the Punjab, they vanquished the Aborigines and reduced them to servitude. The victorious Aryas called these tribes "Dasyus" or enemies and "Dasas" or slaves. The Aryans, coming from the colder north, were light-skinned, and of their comparative fairness they were inordinately proud. The darker coloring of the Aborigines was the cause of much scorn. The poets who composed the Vedas, the epic story of the Aryan advance, praised their warrior gods who, "slaying the Dasyus, protected the *Aryan color* and subjected the black skins to the Aryan man." The Vedas relate how their "stormy deities rushed on like furious bulls and scattered the 'black skins.'" Even their gods, according to these hymns, hated the non-Aryans. Although to-day perhaps one-half the inhabitants of

India are non-Aryan, these hymns held to be the divine scriptures of all Hindus abound in scornful epithets for those of non-Aryan blood. These sacred sagas therefore keep in constant flame the Aryan hatred for the non-Aryan.

The Sanskrit word for color, "varna," came to express "caste" and, because of Brahmanic usage, "Aryan" was transmuted to mean "of noble lineage."

Pressing into the plains, the victorious Aryan tribes separated into numerous settlements through the Punjab and in the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges, holding most of the non-Aryan tribes in serfdom and slavery. In the Aryan colonies each house-father was a husbandman, warrior and priest. By degrees certain gifted families, who composed the Vedas or learned them by heart, were chosen more and more frequently by the Chieftain of the tribes to perform the great sacrifices and ceremonial rituals. In this way the priestly caste, or Brahmans, came into existence. As the Aryans conquered more territory, the warriors and military leaders grew to an importance secondary only to that of the priests. They became second in caste and were called Kshattriyas, or Rajputs. The agricultural settlers or landowners (not land workers), and later the merchants, were of third rank and called Vaisyas. The workers, who were the conquered non-Aryan tribes or serfs, were fourth in station and called Sudras.

The first three castes, being of "Aryan descent," were honored by the name "twice born." They could be present at the sacrifices and claim a joint, although an unequal, inheritance in the holy books or Vedas. The Sudras or once-born castes were denied these honors even to the extent of not being permitted to behold the Vedic volumes.

These rights were decreed by the Brahmans who had written the Vedas. Performing the sacrifices and ritual ceremonies, these priests separated themselves more and more from the mundane pursuits of war and agriculture and administered more and more the civil as well as the ceremonial affairs of the tribes. Having freedom and time for study, they developed the writing of Sanscrit and composed the Vedic books, holding unto themselves not only the writing but the interpreting and enforcing of the doctrines they developed, claiming them to be divine revelations, the word of Brahma. They declared their priestly position likewise was ordained, and having thus firmly established their power they made strong use of it, governing and enforcing the laws of the Vedas as well as their later compilations, the "Statutes of Manu." These statutes set forth the law in regard to domestic and civil rights and duties, the administration of Hindu justice, the religious purifications and penances, but principally the regulations of castes, specifying the kinds of food permitted as well as the conditions of partaking, the segregation of castes, inheritance and all the regulations of child-marriage.

While at first thought the caste system may seem a very simple separation of the peoples, it is in reality a very complex and cruel one. While there are only four "Varnas," there are a multitude of "jati," which is another way of saying that there are only four classes of divisions, but a multitude of castes in each class. Each caste is primarily based on varna or general class race, the particular blood or marriage lineage, geographical position and occupation. Even the Brahmans were and are* divided into ten distinct orders, while the Sudras came to be divided into as many as 3,000 separate castes. One table of classifications specifies 2,378 main castes.†

These caste classifications are most complicated. Marriages, whether between tribes according to or in defiance of Vedic law, necessitated new classifications of castes to be formed; those who married according to Manu's laws retaining their Varna, those in defiance being reduced to Sudras; but in both cases the names of the contracting parties and tribes designate their blood history. The section of the country was also specified, families moving beyond the jurisdiction of their caste losing their particular title because it was assumed the migratory peoples must of necessity eat forbidden food, worship alien gods and enter into relation with women of lower rank. Their occupations were likewise determined by caste specifications, each caste having a certain trade. This trade could not be changed, irrespective of talent, desire or circumstance of the individual, without penalty of being outcaste. Therefore caste rested upon four distinct and irrevocable patterns of partition, each partition having a definite rank in this tremendous social system.

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*Verbs applying to caste are equally correct in past or present tense.

†Sir H. H. Risley in "Peoples of India," page 110.

This system of classification exists to-day unaltered from the eras before Alexander the Great, who recorded the curious customs of caste. Increase of population and types of work and trade have not changed these requirements and laws. A man is born into his caste and no personal act or property ownership can ameliorate or advance his position. Birth, not merit, determines his home life, his learning, his occupation, his marriage.

So it is that the social system which determines and dictates the customs and canons of the primary peoples of India, welding the myriad members of 70 per cent of Indian society into a fundamental whole, also disintegrates them into thousands of mutually exclusive and often hostile sections, for intercaste association and relation is strictly forbidden.

Just as the tribes of Aryas often were at war among themselves, but always united against the Aborigines, so the three upper Varnas and their castes to-day wage social wars among themselves, but always unite against the Sudras. The Sudras emulate the upper castes by similar segregations. For instance, goldsmiths are higher than weavers, shepherds are higher than tanners, and so on; and none of them so far forgets his rank as to associate with a worker of a different caste or trade. Laborers continue to be Sudras, for work of any kind is considered degrading and far beneath the dignity of the "twice born" or three upper Varnas.* The lowest of the Sudras are the "Untouchables," or "Depressed" classes as they are officially called, and of these there are about 68,000,000. The title "Untouchable" fittingly describes them for, according to Hindu ethics, anything these people touch is rendered "unclean," and even the proximity of these castes is believed to contaminate the very air. There are even varying degrees of "uncleanliness," some being defiling to a higher-caste man at a distance of twenty feet, others at thirty feet, some even at sixty feet, the area of defilement being definitely specified.

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*Many Brahmans necessarily follow humble professions since Brahmans may be served food and drink by only Brahmans. All priests must be Brahmans, but not all Brahmans are priests. There are other exceptions as well.

The basis, therefore, of the entire social fabric of Hinduism is separation and segregation. The only unity is in its disunity. This is the main cause of the separation and jealousies of Hindu kingdoms, for the segregation of thought and interest is both individual and collective. This is the reason *no Hindu Empire has ever existed* since the Scythic inroads gained power.* This was the cause of the subjugation of the Hindu kingdoms by the Moslem emperors. This is the reason Chitor is to-day a magnificent ruin instead of a reigning capital.

As we prepare for sleep we look at our maps and observe we are nearing the Rajput country, now passing through the sanctuary ranges of the Bhils, one of the numerous tribes which were too wild or too wary to be captured or subdued and consequently were pushed back from the plains into the fastnesses of the hills and mountains, most of them continuing to this day to live in the same primeval stage of human development as that ascribed to them by the Vedic poets three thousand years ago.

At 5:30 next morning Nara brings our steaming chota hazzri. Very welcome is the stimulating tea in the damp chill of the morning. In early February the days are warm in northern India, but the nights and dawns are chilly. We have a half hour to sip our tea and dress before changing to the narrow-

*Asoka, of the Hindu Maurya dynasty, who reigned from 273 to 232 B.C., controlled an Empire in India. He was a Buddhist convert. The Gupta Emperors, who ruled, roughly, from 300 to 480, were also Hindus but, as Doctor Vincent Smith points out: "The barbarian invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries, although slurred over by the Indian authorities, constitute a turning-point in the history of northern and western India, both political and social. The political system of the Gupta period was completely broken up, and new kingdoms were formed. *No authentic family or clan traditions go back beyond the Hun invasions.* All genuine tradition of the earlier dynasties has been absolutely lost. The history of the Mauryas, Kushans and Guptas, so far as it is known, has been recovered laboriously by the researches of scholars, without material help from living tradition." ("Oxford History of India," pages 163–4. Italics are mine.)

gauge road that takes us into the Agency of Rajputana, as this collection of native Rajput States is called.

An Indian Valhalla

In the early afternoon the train stops at Chitorgarh, where we alight. The lonely station is barren of life until a representative of the Maharana appears apparently out of nowhere and bows obsequiously before us. His Highness has graciously notified the local magistrate to issue us a permit to enter the fort. We see nothing but dusty fields until we raise our eyes to a great mountain rising in a giant knob from the flat plateau. Crowning the rocky ridge is a stupendous fort, its great walls forming a forbidding cordon. The ambassador apologizes that he can offer us only a tonga to carry us up the mountainside. The elephant which is kept for this particular honor has been taken ill and His Highness did not receive our letter in time to dispatch another to be placed at our disposal. Having ridden in numerous howdahs, I advise you not to be disappointed. The two-wheeled tonga is most comfortable and, riding with our backs to the horse, we shall be able to view the trail and plain as well as the mountain while we ascend. Thrilling a bit to think an elephant *would* have been sent seventy miles in order to take us up the steep incline, we start across the two miles of plain in whirling dust.

What warriors the Mohammedan forces must have been to dare that threatening mountain, a veritable Quebec on a larger scale! We picture the advance of the Moslem hosts while the Rajputs tensely awaited the charge, for that was the state of affairs during many months of many years. Twice the Moslems achieved those precipitous heights to sack the mighty fort; once a Hindu rival won its ramparts; all three times the hosts of Hindu women threw themselves into the flames to follow their lords to death.

The first sacking occurred in the thirteenth century when Ala-ud-din, the Pathan, was emperor of the Deccan. The Rajput princess, Padmini, "had inflamed the desire of Ala-ud-din" who stormed those precipiced walls we are nearing, with intent to possess this "Helen of Chitor." But the towering battlements and fighting Rajputs proved too much for Ala-ud-din's forces, so he withdrew to gather together greater numbers of warriors, employing many of the Mongoloid tribesmen who constantly swooped down from China to attack his capital of Delhi. Returning with this host, Ala-ud-din again assailed Chitor, this time successfully, but he did not achieve his real purpose, for as soon as the defense proved hopeless, Padmini led the women of the fort into an underground cave where all committed suttee while their lords fell before the swords of the Moslems.

The Moslem accounts simply state that the surviving Rajputs of Mewat, after the massacre of 100,000 Hindu warriors by Balban (1265–1287) following their repeated revolts, had retreated to the south and that Balban pursued them, cutting down the forests which formed their retreats. Finally the Rajputs reached a high flat country where they built a mighty city upon a mountain top, a great natural fortress which Ala-ud-din attacked and sacked in 1303. After reducing other Rajput clans at Jaipur and Gujarat, Ala-ud-din extended his conquest into the Deccan.

As we ponder, we cross an ancient, massive bridge of gray limestone and start up the ascent to the fortress. The road leads for a mile in two great zigzags, through seven magnificent defending portals, each large enough to contain guard rooms and even great halls. Every one of the buttressing gateways holds a stirring history of gallant deeds. As we pass through the Padah Pol, we see an erect stone marking the spot where the Chieftain Bagh Singh was killed during the second great siege of Chitor in 1535 when its heights were successfully stormed by a rival, the Chieftain of Gujarat.

Between the "Broken" and the Hanuman gates, two chhattris mark the spot where the renowned Jaimal of Bednor was killed in Akbar's siege in 1568. Jaimal, though only sixteen years old, succeeded to the command of the city on the escape of Maharana Udai Singh, who successfully quitted the fort during the siege, the only chief to survive the fall of Chitor. We shall next visit the city he founded—Udaipur. So far was the defense of Chitor continued that the bride of Jaimal fought beside him with a lance until he was shot by the Emperor Akbar himself. Eight thousand Rajputs fell before the fort was taken. The thirty-nine memorial stones of these chhattris are as much venerated as if marking the shrine of a minor deity. Akbar's taking of the city in 1568 was the final capture, and from that time the fort and the city within its walls fell gradually into ruin and decay.

We walk amid the stupendous ruins. The deserted temples and palaces are now lairs of tigers and leopards; the one-time fountains are slimy pools overhung with jungle grass, but the great towers still rear to the heavens, proud memorials of once glorious reigns. Pillars of victory, these, with sculptures and mouldings comparable to those of the much older columns of even more ancient victories, those of Trajan of Rome.

As we contemplate the remains of this once magnificent city, we recall the resolution, since broken, of an Englishman who, like ourselves, walked through these crumbling palaces and temples. He "determined to never write a single word about Chitor for fear he should be set down as a babbling and gushing enthusiast." That writer was Rudyard Kipling, and neither he nor any one else, by means of pen, can bridge the gulf between reading about Chitor and seeing it. Nevertheless, we determine to re-read the striking account of this wonderful fort in the results of Kipling's broken resolve: "The Naulahka" and "Letters of Marque."

Climbing the ancient steps of a pillared hall which faces the great gate, we achieve the top of the crumbling edifice and view the sweeping plains that stretch their dusty expanse into the horizon in every direction.

What history lay back of the victorious sacking of this fortress by Akbar, grandson of Babur? Why did such gallant fighters as the warrior Rajputs fall before the Moslem armies? The answer is: jealousy. Too strong to be defeated, too multitudinous to be conquered, they were too jealous to unite in fighting the Delhi emperors. The Moslem forces, although greatly outnumbered, fought one great Hindu kingdom after another and when the Moslems were not attacking, the Hindu chieftains were attacking each other.

The inextinguishable vitality of the Rajput military races survived to harass but never to rule the Mohammedan invaders. Out of all the hosts of clans and castes that combined to form the mass of the Indian people, out of all the proud and privileged reigns of Hindu princes down the centuries, not one Hindu dynasty survives to exemplify their past glories. The oldest Hindu ruling house in India is that of Udaipur, founded by the Maharana who, escaping from Chitor in 1568, settled in the heart of the highland country and built the city of Udaipur.

In the chronicles of the era we find very few rulers of Hindustan who left indelible records. The most notable was Asoka, who reigned from 273 to 232 B.C., less than a hundred years after Alexander the Great's incursion. Asoka was a convert to Buddhism and his kingdom to this day is called the Land of Monasteries (his direct domain was modern Bihar). Asoka did for Buddhism what the Emperor Constantine afterwards effected for Christianity. Authorizing the Revision or Canon of the Buddhist scriptures, he made Buddhism the religion of his state and sent missionaries to spread its doctrines. The faith was carried into Ceylon and Burma where it is to-day the religion of all their peoples, but in India this tolerant creed was so democratic that it threatened to undermine the power of the Brahmans. The dogmas of Buddha divided the peoples not into castes, but according to their religious merit, and taught that salvation was gained by living good lives, and not by offering victims to the gods. The very foundations of Brahman authority and Brahman control were endangered. The priestly orders therefore adopted a clever plan to crush the new teachings. They proclaimed that Buddha was only one of the incarnations of Vishnu, a Brahman god. Incorporating Buddha as a minor prophet, they were thus able to smother the religion. Although 40 per cent of the inhabitants of the world to-day are Buddhists, Buddhism for centuries has been an exiled faith in the land of its birth, and Asoka, who propagated its creeds, is not a particularly revered monarch.

Looking out over the arid, surrounding country, we gaze upon the desert stretches which surrounded and assisted in perpetuating the strong feudal states of Rajputana, the only kingdoms which were able to maintain an independent although subordinate position in the dominions of the Moghul empires.

As we drive back down the precipiced roadway, the envoy is pleased by our evident response to his stirring account.

"Chitor is a glorious city, madame."

"Yes, it has an illustrious past."

"Our women of to-day are as dutiful as those of Chitor but the English are so oppressive. They have no heart and cause much trouble. Why, a commissioner came from Delhi not long ago because, following the death of one of our nobles, his wives immolated themselves on his pyre! His Highness, the great Maharana, paid much penance, for his proud spirit was hurt by the criticism of the harsh commissioner who expressed his disapproval of this exemplary act of the virtuous wives! Rajput women have never been forced to sati* and have always proudly and gladly volunteered this proper and privileged duty."

What could we say?

"We do not believe in sati in my country," we comment mildly.

"No?" and then sympathetically, "Ah, perhaps the English have forced their barbarian rules upon your country too. No?"

Our conductor is puzzled but evidently determined to be polite.

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*Suttee, or sati, is strictly applicable to the person, not the rite; meaning "a pure and virtuous woman." It designates the wife who completes a life of uninterrupted conjugal devotedness and reverence by the act of Saha-Gamana, literally, "the accompanying of her husband's corpse." It has come, in common usage, to denote the act. It is deemed a sacred duty by Brahman teachings. The British East India Company in 1829 made the burning of widows a "culpable homicide" equivalent to manslaughter, and when violence or compulsion was used or the free will of the victim interfered with by drugs, the offense was classed as murder and punished by death. This law was enforced and upheld in spite of appeals of influential Indians and was adopted by the Government when it was taken over by Great Britain in 1857. Sati was a compulsory custom which, if performed voluntarily, was considered an act of devotion and reverence that conferred an exceptional honor upon the woman's family. Therefore the Rajput's proud boast.

"These English not only persecute us with their laws, even in my glorious Free State," he continued with a sweep of his arm, "they cunningly insinuate teachings to humiliate my people. A friend, who came from Delhi to my home in great fear and shame, told me not long ago that his daughters have disgraced him and all his blood. They have refused to return from London to their husbands until they have been assured that they will not be permitted this supreme privilege!"*

Reaching the solitary station, we are in time to take the evening train for Udaipur, sixty-nine miles distant, in the heart of the Highlands of Hindustan.

A GLIMPSE OF FEUDALISM

It is still light enough for us to watch the people in the passing fields of this feudal country. We notice that the natives of this military state are strikingly muscular, in strong contrast to the average or usual Hindu. The vitality of these "Highlanders of India" is really remarkable. One may see them going armed to till the soil, the necessity having long since vanished, and hear them singing the same songs that their ancestors sang before them. We cannot note these details from the train, but can see the rare strength of the primitive and virile herdsmen, horsemen, and soldiers.

We are approaching the capital of a notable and exceptional character, the aged Maharana.† This elderly ruler exemplifies the patriarchal rule in the Indian states which is moderating under the coercive influence of the British government. The Maharana has personal as well as dynastic claims to the veneration in which he is held by Hindus for, in the eyes of the orthodox, he is the descendant of Kusha, elder son of the god-man Rama, hero of the Ramayana, the sacred scriptures relating the advance of the Aryans into southern India. He is the "Sun of the Hindu Faith." Born in 1849, the Maharajah-dhviaja Maharana came to the throne in 1884, and has ever been a faithful ally of the British. When the Great War broke out,

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*This is practically word for word the conversation of a Hindu gentleman in Jaipur. I have changed only the location.

†The late Maharana died in May, 1930, so we shall have to suppose our visit is before that date.

His Highness offered every help and support to the British Government. Before that time he had welcomed the King and Queen, then Prince and Princess of Wales, to his austere and magnificent court, and later he received the present Prince of Wales on his visit to this picturesque relic of feudal government. Being an orthodox Hindu, the Maharana could not be present at the banquets he gave in honor of the British sovereigns, although he attended afterward to propose their health. This monarch, who has always displayed great loyalty to the throne of England, has maintained his prestige with firm insistence, prizing his precedence so highly that on occasion he has risked his life by taking potent drugs to induce illness rather than permit himself to appear in situations where his premier rank might be compromised. It is still the boast of this ruler that among all the Rajput clans his is the sole line that never gave a daughter in marriage to a Moghul emperor.

Arriving at the depot, which is at a distance from the city, we drive three miles through the ever-present dust to the hotel that stands on a hill outside the gates of the city.

Bisection of Baal

At dinner we meet a woman doctor, an American who has practised near Madras for many years.

"It is a relief to be recuperating from a long siege of illness in this refreshing highland country. Are you staying long?"

"No, but we are coming back to spend some time, for this surely is one of the loveliest places in the world."

"Indeed it is, so much so it never seems quite real to me. The city is of such surpassing beauty, its life is such a stream of exotic color, I always feel I'm visioning a glorified Arabian Nights dream."

"We have come to view only the Temple this time."

"The Temple? That is the least beautiful thing here!"

"But we are following the paths of history just now, making a brief trip in the steps of the past. I know the Temple is not of the greatest antiquity nor even of epitomized Hinduism, but I brought my friends here so that they might see a bit of religion with the least repulsion. This Temple displays their gods in such modified form that my companions can avoid the more degenerate displays."

"That is one of the many things I don't understand," interjected the girl. "Hinduism seems a mixture of witchcraft, sorcery, worship of animals and deification of obscene objects. How is the theory of 'Karma' reconciled with these barbaric beliefs? One seems earthy ignorance, the other spiritual faith. How do they blend together?"

"Karma, the doctrine that every action, good or evil, that a man does in this life is forthwith recorded for or against him in the future lives into which he progresses, is irrevocably bound up in animism and caste," replied the doctor. "Hindus worship animals and account for the more ferocious beasts by believing that they are a stage in the series of transmigrations. Remember there is no repentance, no forgiveness of sins, no absolution in Hinduism for major iniquities. That which is done carries inevitable consequences through the long succession of lives which await the individual soul. Regret doesn't help. Just as the Hindu believes that his spiritual status is determined by the sum total of his past lives, he believes his social status, or caste, is a like result. But this aspect of Hinduism is only one small section of this creed of worship."

"What, then, is Hinduism as a religion?"

"To cut through to the truth, it is a social disease," the doctor replies. "It is a worship of elements, of natural features and forces, of deified men and animals, even of weapons and primitive implements, but principally of the powers of life, the organs of sex."

"Good heavens! But degeneracy is an affliction of every race, isn't it?"

"But only in Hinduism is degeneracy deified. The teachings and not just the interpretations of Hinduism sink to such depths that decent and proper words cannot correctly describe their level. When abroad, Hindus speak only of the Brahman philosophies. They even talk of the theories of Buddhism, tenets that Brahmans never teach. They know they can't profitably tell Western people of the essence and main features of their creed. But in India there is no way to hide Hindu religion, even if the Hindus wanted to, which they decidedly do not. It is only in concession to infidels that they speak so entirely of metaphysics. But in India every Hindu temple, every Hindu forehead, proclaims their true worship."

"But what do their foreheads proclaim? I see painted circles and lines of different color on all their foreheads. But I don't know what they mean."

"You have only glanced at them. But even if you had studied them, you wouldn't have interpreted them correctly, for they are detailed portrayals of the organs of generation."

"You mean every man who speaks to me is confronting me with such symbols?"

"Yes. Every man and every woman, though I dare say your bearer's forehead is unpainted, a concession to our 'blasphemous codes.' "

"So that is why Nara's forehead is unpainted! How did this impious religion come into existence? I thought the Aryans had 'shining' gods of nature."

"Hinduism is a union of Vedic faiths, submerged and almost drowned under the ruder rites and blood sacrifices of the non-Aryans and their evil gods of fear and terror. The Brahmans found that the people reacted to more human gods. Retaining the worship of natural elements and animals, a pantheon of forces of personal nature grew more and more potent. The result is, there are innumerable devils and half-devils, witches and demons, half-goddesses and half-gods, as well as three principal deities. These three gods are Brahma, Vishṇu and Siva. One hears very little of Brahma and never sees a temple built to him. He is too ascetic a god for active worship and one who completed his work when he created the universe and evolved the Hindu laws. Vishnu, the Preserver, has appeared on earth in nine human incarnations, once as Krishna, once as Buddha. Siva, the Reproducer and Destroyer, has more particular followers than Vishnu, for although the Hindus believe in all, each selects one god for special veneration.

"Every Hindu bears upon his forehead, and on other parts of his body, the symbol of his particular deity and wears that symbol in amulets and bracelets and pieces of stone. The symbol of Siva is the phallus, which is called the *lingam,* and it is the lingam that is painted on his forehead and worn upon his person. The followers of Vishnu paint the female counterpart on their foreheads; it is called the *namam.* The lingam and the namam are objects of the deepest reverence and veneration. These obscene emblems are as sacred to Hindus as the Cross is to Christians."

The girl listener looks rather sick and a little nauseated.

"Then Hindu religion is phallicism!"

"Yes," replies the doctor. "It is exactly that, and that is what I meant when I said it is practically a social disease. You may be able to visualize, to a comparatively small degree, the rituals and results of this creed."

"How do they justify this phallus and cow worship?"

"The lingam is worshipped as the 'symbol of the great Pillar of Fire, the destroying element which consumes dross but only purifies gold.' At least that is the explanation of a learned Brahman. The cow is counterpart of the namam, the bull of the lingam, and therefore they are manifestations of the sacredness of animals."

"I don't want to see the Temple to-morrow. It's all too disgusting."

"I advise you to go," the doctor answers. "You must see some Hindu temple, for how else can you change that disgust into pity? Isn't it a pitiful thing that these wonderful peoples have never been able to create a belief in a Divine and Righteous Being, exterior to and above themselves, to whom they can aspire and pay spiritual homage? You must face their afflictions if you would fairly judge the Hindus and adequately foster their evolution. The Jagannuth Temple here isn't so bad after all. The carvings aren't nearly so obscene as those at Madura, for Aurangzeb, the Mohammedan Emperor, called 'the Iconoclast,' mutilated many of the vilest depictions. By all means go."

Next morning we motor across a hilly stretch encircled by hazy highlands. Entering the bastioned gates of the walled city, we move slowly through narrow streets crowded with guttural-voiced throngs. The turbans are of every hue under the sun, bright jades, corals, sapphires, palest turquoise, pastel pinks, vivid purples, brilliant reds—a riot of exotic color that so hypnotizes the eye that the swathing robes of sombre tone are little noticed. Bazaars of brass wares, pungent herbs and dyed stuffs line the embrasured thoroughfares, durzis (tailors) sit crosslegged in the stalls shaping strange garments, while the ubiquitous idlers cease their shrill altercations to stare at us with glowing dark eyes as they spit great streams of crimson betel juice. Slender women, with bracelets that cover their arms and ankles (sometimes extending up to their knees) and ear-rings that swing in great hoops from their ears, pulling the lobes toward their shoulders, glide silently through the raucous throng while balancing great jars upon their heads. We draw to the side, almost into the stall of a cloth-dyer whose wares are strung above our heads in dripping lengths, in order to allow a caravan to pass. The ear-piercing cries of the drivers reverberate along the casemented walls of the street as they prod the regal procession of disdainful camels.

We proceed again along the milling thoroughfare to come abruptly upon a long flight of very steep steps where a mob of flower sellers surround us, loudly importuning us to buy their tight fistfuls of withering blossoms. With difficulty we alight from the car and thread our way through the clawing beggars and repulsive mendicants. Great stone elephants, with trunks upraised, mount guard on either side of the huge stairway which we climb together with the filthy and evil-smelling worshippers who, before beginning their ascent, stoop and kiss the lowest step although it is putrid with cow dung. At the top of the flight is a great courtyard surrounding a tower which is decorated by bold figured friezes and other ornamentations. Shrines with brazen images circle the plaza around the tower. We are warned not to approach the altars of the fearful idols, which are thronged with chanting worshippers. We pick our way carefully to avoid the animal refuse, for sacred cows blink sleepily at us or stray amid the fervent devotees.

The tower is a mass of intricate miniatures of carved figures which stretch in rows upon rows around the entire edifice, one row on top of another to the very topmost pinnacle. The sculptures are minute, but in detail they portray life as it has been and is, according to the Hindu mind. We are so interested in the entwining, convoluted figures that we forget the warnings and near the labyrinth of carvings. So that was what Laurence Hope meant when she wrote in her "Reverie of Mahomed Akram at the Tamarind Tank":

  I sit in the shade of the Temple walls,
  While the cadenced water evenly falls,
  And a peacock out of the Jungle calls
  To another, on yonder tomb.
  Above, half seen, in the lofty gloom,
  Strange works of a long dead people loom,
Obscene and savage and half effaced—
An elephant hunt, a musicians' feast—
And curious matings of man and beast;
What did they mean to the men who are long since dust?
  Whose fingers traced,
  In this arid waste,
These rioting, twisted, figures of love and lust.
Strange, weird things that no man may say,
Things humanity hides away;—
  Secretly done,—
Catch the light of the living day,
  Smile in the sun.
Cruel things that man may not name,
Naked here, without fear or shame,
  Laughed in the carven stone.

Deep in the Temple's innermost Shrine is set,
  Where the bats and shadows dwell,
The worn and ancient Symbol of Life, at rest
  In its oval shell,
By which the men, who, of old, the land possessed,
Represented their Great Destroying Power.

We had all read that poem dozens of times. Never before did we completely interpret her words—how could we?

We leave the "rioting, twisted, figures of love and lust," "naked here, without fear or shame," and descend the stairs. Some of the worshippers are also leaving but they, before departing from the sanctity of the courtyard, kiss the topmost step after doing obeisance before the graven gods who leer with contortioned grins from their thrones beneath the canopied shrines.

"So," my companion murmurs, "those are the things that Mahmud of Ghazni destroyed!"

"Yes, the Temple of the Lingam at Somnath was only one of twelve renowned temples of phallic emblems that had been constructed in various parts of India. Many of them Mahmud destroyed. This shrine was not built until 1640, and is much less lewd in its portrayals of lecherous gods than others such as Mahmud shattered."

"So these are the things they worshipped, and Chitor was the fort where they fought when Babur invaded India?"

"Yes, and the conditions we've seen and the views we've heard are unchanged since he victoriously entered Delhi in 1526."

"Then, in spite of their cruelty, the Mohammedans were far superior to the Hindus, weren't they?"

"We'll see."

CHAPTER IV

A MOSAIC OF MOHAMMEDANISM

"By the sword shall ye spread the Faith," commanded Mohammed. "March ye forth, the light and heavy armed and strive [*jahidu*, i. e. strive by force] with your property and your persons in the path of Allah. Kill them wheresoever ye find them and thrust them out from whence they thrust you out; for dissent is worse than slaughter; but fight them not at the sacred Mosque unless they fight you there; but if they fight you, then kill them; such is the reward of the infidels!"

So well did Mohammed's disciples hearken to his voice that to-day the number who follow his teachings is estimated at from 200,000,000 to 250,000,000. They not only predominate throughout the brown world with the exception of India,* but they also count 10,000,000 adherents in China and are gaining prodigiously among the blacks of Africa.

Mohammedanism is the one world religion, outside of Christianity, of which the origins lie open in the light of history. It rose in one man's lifetime, was shaped by one man's hand and was directed by a single mentality, that of Mohammed, a native of Mecca, in Arabia. The rapidity of the spread of his religion and the dramatic suddenness with which his creed rose to a position of dominant sovereignty constitute one of the marvels, or perhaps even one of the miracles, of history.

Mohammed: the Man

Son of a merchant, who belonged to the tribe of Koreish, the most influential in the city of Mecca, Mohammed was orphaned in early childhood. His spiritual development began at the age of twelve, in 582 A.D., when his uncle, Abu Talib, took him to Syria where he came in close contact with both Jews and Christians. It was at this time that he gained his first insight into the enormities of Arabian idolatry and immorality.

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*The Moslems, although 70,000,000 strong, comprise less than 30 per cent of the Indian population.

Returning to Mecca, at the age of twenty-five he entered the service of a rich widow. He was entrusted with the charge of her trading ventures which caused him again to visit Syria, where he gained further enlightenment concerning Judaism and Christianity. The widow, Khadija, offered him marriage, and while she lived he married no other. By her he had several sons, all of whom died in infancy, and four daughters, the youngest, Fatima, later marrying Ali, the son of Mohammed's uncle, Abu Talib. From Fatima are descended the nobility of Islam, or Mohammedanism, the Saiyads and Sharifs.

By the exercise of native sagacity Mohammed gradually attained a reputation for practical wisdom and was frequently appealed to as the arbiter of disputes. At thirty-five he began to feel his mission, becoming more and more contemplative until in 609, at the age of thirty-nine, he had a vision, the first divine communication, in the solitude of the mountain Hira, near Mecca, in which the angel Gabriel appeared and commanded him to preach to his fellow men the unity of God. There is supposed to exist in archetype in heaven a book fixed in the very essence of God, which was delivered piecemeal to the Prophet through the medium of Gabriel, who commanded Mohammed to teach the laws of Allah as so displayed.

In three years of preaching Mohammed gained only fifty followers, including his wife and children and a wealthy and influential merchant, Abu Bekr. Believing himself to be the divinely appointed messenger of a revelation destined to supersede the Jewish and Christian religions and in particular the rude paganism and idol worship of his countrymen, he began to sermonize in public, denouncing idolatry and proclaiming there was only one God, Allah, and that he was the prophet to whom the one and absolute God had revealed the divine laws. His hearers demanded miracles as credentials of his mission. But Mohammed disclaimed the power to produce such phenomena, declaring he was a prophet as were his predecessors Abraham, Moses, David and Jesus, and that since he was sent to preach, the hearers would reject him at their peril.

The Arabs persecuted him for his defaming of their idols, and the Jews and Christians denounced him as blasphemous in his claim of association with their prophets. His invectives brought such retaliations upon his head that his life was threatened, but he continued fearlessly to exhort the people to cast aside their idols and to recognize Allah as the one God of the universe. "There is no God but Allah" became the inspiration of his life, while the corollary, "Mohammed is his Prophet," was proclamation of his own position and authority as the mouthpiece of Allah, sent to proclaim God to the Arabs, as in other times messengers had been sent to other peoples, notably the Jews and Christians.

Poverty-stricken after the death of his wife and uncle, Mohammed unflinchingly preached the unity and righteousness of God, admonishing his people to a far purer and better morality than had ever been taught them, but denunciation of their gods so provoked their wrath that he was at last compelled to flee from Mecca, accompanied by his ardent disciple, Abu Bekr, and seek refuge at Medina, 270 miles to the north. There he had a few adherents who had heard him preach while on their journeys to Mecca for trade. This flight, renowned as the Hegira, was the turning point in the career of the Prophet, the beginning of his success.

Mohammed found the people of Medina not only eager to hear and believe his teachings but ready to defend him and his doctrines with the sword. For two years hostilities raged between the two cities, Mecca and Medina.

Mecca being idolatrous, the caravans of the wealthy city were considered fair booty. The decisive battle of Bedr in 624 was the result of a raid in which Mohammed hoped to capture a rich Meccan convoy. Instead of a caravan, Mohammed found himself confronted by an unencumbered armed force of twice his strength. So great was the zealous fury of the Moslems, however, that their attack was an overwhelming success. The 300 warriors of Bedr became the "peerage of Islam." This was the first of many great victories of the wrathful crusaders.

In 630, after a long and unsuccessful siege of Medina by a great force of tribes of Arabs and Jews (the latter of whom

Mohammed had vainly sought to win to his faith and against whom he had consequently turned with relentless and vindictive hatred), he led his followers against Mecca, which fell before their onslaughts. The idols of the city were broken and the ancient temple dedicated to the worship of one God, Allah.

Before Mohammed died in 632, he was the prince as well as the prophet of Arabia, and his armies, passing beyond the Syrian borders, had already encountered the Romans, although not victoriously, not far from the Dead Sea. Within eighty years of his death, the Sword of Islam had conquered not only Arabia but Persia, Syria, western Turkestan, Sind, Egypt and southern Spain.

Mohammed was a man of high mental qualities, the Koran being indisputable testimony to his powers as poet, orator, organizer and statesman. He possessed magnificent and almost sublime courage, which is proven by his preaching against idolatry in the pagan stronghold of Mecca, his endurance of the ensuing persecutions and his insistence upon laws of abstinence for the wine-loving Arabs. He was a man of deep sincerity or he could not have held the continued loyalty and reverence of such men as Abu Bekr, and his nature was undoubtedly spiritual as evidenced by his deep abhorrence of idolatry and his lofty conception of God. His character was not entirely admirable, however, for cold vindictiveness and savage insistence upon revenge always predominated in his action. Mohammed was severely ruthless in procuring and permitting the wholesale slaughter of his foes or of those whose property he needed for his followers. He was a political as well as spiritual leader, preparing the way for a united Arabia and a world-wide movement. Mohammed heralded a world religion, for, unlike Judaism, Shintoism, or Hinduism, Mohammedanism makes citizenship dependent not on a family but on a faith.

Creed of the Fiery Crescent

The doctrines of Mohammedanism are expressed in the Koran. The book is not claimed to be a new creation but the counterpart of the prototype of divine laws inscribed in heaven and delivered to Mohammed by Gabriel, the angel. In this bible of Islam the Speaker, except in cases of prayer, is Allah himself, and, as he is too exalted to address any living being directly, even his prophet, Gabriel is the medium of communication.

Mohammed being illiterate, he memorized these deliverances and so taught them to his followers. As a consequence, many knew parts of the Koran but none knew all. When the Prophet died, the utterances existed on scattered bits of leather, ribs of palm leaf, even on stone, and in the minds of the faithful. The inheritor of Mohammed's position as leader of the Moslems, the Caliph Abu Bekr, therefore ordered the teachings collected. The final edition was made canonical and proclaimed the word of God as delivered to Mohammed, his prophet.

The faith of Islam declares there is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his prophet. It avows a belief in the authority and sufficiency of the Koran, in angels and the devil, in immortality of the soul, the resurrection, the day of judgment and in Allah's absolute decree for good and evil.

Practice of the faith consists of five observances: first, recital of the formula of belief; second, prayer, after ablution, five times a day facing Mecca, thus mortgaging the day to Allah; third, abstinence from the flesh of swine and all intoxicating drinks and the keeping of the fasts of the holy month of Ramadan; fourth, the giving of alms (in certain proportions of property, to certain classes of persons); fifth, a pilgrimage, or hadj, once in a lifetime, to the holy city of Mecca.

One of the principal festivals is Bakar Id, on the eighteenth day of the Mohammedan month of Zil Hijja, which commemorates Abraham's offering of Ishmael, according to the version of the Koran. Cows and sheep are sacrificed at this time, to the horror and hatred of the Hindus.* Muharram is a period of mourning, corresponding to the old Arabic month in which it was unholy to wage war, in remembrance of the death of Husian, son of Fatima, who was the daughter of Mohammed and wife of Ali. A fast is observed for the first ten days and the entire month is a solemn period of great mourning.*

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*This holy Moslem ceremony usually inaugurates bitter racial riots in India and many police and troops are used to prevent, as far as possible, great bloodshed.

Akhiri Chahar Shamba is the holiday in honor of the last recovery and bathing of Mohammed before his fatal illness. The Moslems write out seven blessings, wash off the ink and drink it, and also bathe and repeat prayers. Barah Wafat is observed in memory of Mohammed's death. Shab-i-barat, "night of allotment," when it is believed human deeds are measured and their meeds allotted, is observed only in India, and is celebrated with fireworks. The Koran is read all night and a fast observed the next day. Ramadan is the month of fasting, when no food or drink is taken from sunrise to sunset; but the nights are gay festivals, when all the minarets are lit, making a beautiful spectacle. The twenty-seventh night is called the "night of power," because the Koran came down from heaven on that night. Idu 'l-fitr is the festival when the fast of Ramadan is broken, when great feasts are held and great rejoicing reigns.

Islam is essentially a democratic religion, every man praying directly to Allah. The successor of the prophet, or Caliph, holds absolute rulership, although democratically elected.

Every able-bodied Moslem is theoretically a soldier, part of the national militia to further Mohammedanism, a holy war, or jihad, being enjoined as a religious duty. Non-believers must first be invited to embrace Islam and, providing they are not idol-worshippers, are given a choice of becoming Moslems, or submitting and entering into a treaty of protection and tribute, or fighting. If the people capitulate and agree to the treaty, they pay a poll tax, for which their personal safety is assured, and assume an inferior status, having no technical citizenship in the State but only the condition of protected clients.* If the people elect to fight, the door of repentance is open even when the armies are face to face. But after defeat their lives are forfeit, their families are liable to slavery and all their goods to seizure. Apostates must be put to death. Four-fifths of the booty, after the battle, goes to the conquering army.†

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*At this time fanatical spirit usually runs high and serious disturbances take place in India, the religious fervor of the Moslems stirring them to zealous hatred of the idolatrous Hindus. Sometimes religious observances of the Hindus occur at the same time, music being part of their ceremonies. This sets ablaze the Mohammedans' smoldering hatred, for Hindu music played on the occasion of the procession of an idol or a marriage ceremony is desecration to Moslems at any time when they are worshipping in a mosque, much more during this month of mourning.

Thus all Moslems are militant missionaries. Inspired by the assurance of paradise if they fall, and certain of material gains in the spoils of war if they win, the strength of this creed is tremendous. The simplicity of the teachings is another reason for the proselyting power of Islam, and its hold upon its votaries is even more remarkable. Throughout history there has been *not one instance* where a people have ever abandoned the faith once they have adopted it. As in the case of the Moors in Spain, some have been extirpated, but as Mr. Lothrop Stoddard points out in the "Rising Tide of Color,"

> Extirpation is not apostasy. This extreme tenacity of Islam, this ability to keep its hold once it has got a footing, under all circumstances short of downright extirpation, must be borne in mind when considering the future of all regions where Islam is advancing.

In this year of 1931 Mohammedanism is expanding along all its far-flung frontiers except in Eastern Europe. Even in India, converts from the lower castes or outcaste Hindus are adding to the numbers of Islam. We have seen the conquering power of the Moslem hosts and the subsequent butcheries and demolishing of temples. But there are other powerful forces of Mohammedanism, as we can better understand when we read Mr. Meredith Townsend's "Asia and Europe." On pages 46 and 47 he states:

> All the emotions which impel a Christian to proselytize are in a Mussulman strengthened by all the motives which impel a political leader and all the motives which sway a recruiting sergeant, until proselytism has become a passion, which, whenever success seems practicable, and especially success on a large scale, develops in the quietest

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*This tax against non-Moslems plays an important part in Indian history.

†The plundering and slaughtering of the Hindus by Moslem invaders were therefore in accordance with the principles of Mohammedanism.

> Mussulman a fury of ardor which induces him to break down every obstacle, his own strongest prejudices included, rather than stand for an instant in the Neophyte's way. He welcomes him as a son, and whatever his own lineage and whether the convert be negro, or Chinaman or Indian, or even European, he will, without hesitation or scruple, give him his own child in marriage and admit him fully, frankly, and finally into the most exclusive circle in the world.

We can therefore judge that it was more than blood lust, more than savage cruelty, that caused a gratified Moslem historian to write:

> The temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculations of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatry was annihilated. Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery, and the plain became black as pitch with Hindus.

This Creed of the Fiery Crescent that promises paradise, whether by meeting death at the hands of the unbelievers or by slaying them, fired the hearts and spirits of tribes whose laws of the strong had ever been supreme. A righteous fervor galvanized the already fierce Saracens and propelled them in great waves of aggression in every direction from the holy city of Mecca. The zealous fanatics swept triumphantly south into Africa, east into Persia and west into Spain. After tearing away all the eastern and southern coasts of the Mediterranean, they threatened all western Europe, victoriously defeating the Romanized Gauls in southern France and surging as far to the north as Tours. Tours proved to be the Waterloo of Arab advance, for there the fervent Moslems dashed themselves to pieces against the solid ranks of virile Nordics, who had likewise repelled the continuous impacts of Mongol hordes that swept in unremitting waves along the blood-stained path of Attila and his Huns. These two victories, first at Châlons in 451 A.D. and secondly at Tours in 732 A.D., saved Nordic Europe, which had been driven back to little more than a fringe on the seacoast. Never again did Mongol Asia or Moslem Arabia advance so far to the west, although Christendom was to be vitally endangered again and again until the Tartar hordes were decisively checked and repelled at Wahlstatt in Silesia.

Receding into Spain after their disastrous defeat at Tours, the Moslems arabized the entire southern part of the peninsula and held it in their grip until 1492. The Fiery Crescent continued to wave victoriously over northern Africa and Persia, but at the time the warriors were vainly dashing their strength against the Nordic hosts of Charles Martel at Tours, the northern walls of the Himalayas and the death-taking Sind Desert were likewise forbidding the victorious advance of the Moslem sword.

After repeated attempts, the Arabs did finally succeed in temporarily grasping Sind after a brilliant campaign in 711. But all that resulted from the brief seizure were records that they carried back to Persia telling of the despairing valor of the Rajput garrisons where all the women and children committed suttee before the men threw open the gates of their stronghold and rushed upon the swords of the besiegers. Not until three centuries later were the Mohammedan hosts under Mahmud of Ghazni to conquer northern India. The Hindu powers in southern India were not completely broken until 1565, when a Moslem confederacy of the Deccan defeated the Hindu armies at Talikota and united the greater portion of the huge sub-continent under Moslem control.

To-day the Mohammedans compose almost 30 per cent of the Indian peoples, continuing to proselyte as many Hindus as they can under the chafing and restraining influence of British rule, which compels them to sheathe their swords. But the Moslems retain their vigorous fervor and their fiery purpose, hating the Christian British who deny their Prophet and force them to peace, watching for the opportune moment when they can once more spread the faith of Islam and once more on the field of battle offer the choice of sword or Koran, slaughter or slavery, to the idolatrous Hindus whom they despise.

THE EUROPEAN BOOMERANG

What happened after the furious onslaught of the Moslem hosts in Europe?

With recession of the Arab and Mongol floods of invasion and release from the long welter of immolation, the depleted Nordic races turned their attention to the constricting ocean, which they had regarded with great fear. The terror of the unknown threats of the waters at their backs had spurred them to grim desperation in their repulsion of the repeated assaults of the relentless Asians. Their great victory over the Eastern invaders fired them with courage to dare the fearful waters.

Lured by adventure and urged by necessity, the Europeans now ventured farther and farther afield. Suddenly they accomplished two world-stirring, world-changing feats which galvanized the whole of sea-bordering Europe: the discovery of America and the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, both momentous events occurring in two years. Presto! Europe was no longer the land of mere defenders. It was the realm of empires of aggressors. Europe controlled the oceans. Europe now controlled the world.

The ships of the Europeans followed da Gama's path around the African cape and daringly penetrated the Eastern seas hitherto lorded over by the Arabians, who monopolized the traffic from India and the Eastern Archipelago and carried their trade to the edges of the Mediterranean for barter to the Western peoples. Now the boomerang struck. Christian Europe challenged Moslem Asia. The Christian Europeans did not possess the man power of the Mohammedan Asians, but they were able to contrive treaties and new weapons of war; they could think; they could invent. Goods, tools, guns, artful strategy, constructive organization: these were their weapons. Vigor of brain, more than vigor of body, enabled them to push back and into the political dominions of the Mohammedans.

While the expansion of white waves of conquest forced them out of Spain and from the borders of Europe, and invaded their monopolies of the Eastern waters, the Mohammedans receded into Africa and Asia. Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan and India were Mohammedan-ruled when the Moslem Akbar, who was later to earn the title of "Great," came to the Moghul throne.

Akbar: Monarch among Men

Akbar was a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth of England. He was as shrewd as Disraeli, as ambitious as Alexander, as powerful as Louis XIV.

In the fifty years of his reign, Akbar increased a small Moslem dominion into one vast and glorious empire of all the Hindu and Moslem kingdoms north of the Vindya Mountains. He remedied the inherent weakness of the early Moslem emperors by incorporating the most talented Hindus into his government and by curbing alike the Mohammedan invaders from without and the too powerful Mohammedan subjects within. He found India splintered into many seething, discordant and warring states. He conquered the turbulent territories, welded them into an organized civil government, and left an empire that had worked under his dominance in almost peaceful, although never satisfied, unity.

This man and this reign are to-day being thrust forward by both Hindus and Indian Moslems as overwhelming and conclusive evidence of India's native glory of self-government and the inherent capacity and ability of her diverse peoples of diametric religions to amalgamate into one co-operative whole.

The history of the Emperor Akbar, who reigned more than three hundred years ago, is particularly enlightening not only as to the spirit of his times, but also as to the type and trend of present-day Indian thought.

Who was this eulogized monarch? What did he accomplish? What were his legacies to India?

The answers disclose the heights of Asian achievement in India, the reason for imposition of European dominion, and the grounds for perspicacious understanding of the present ambitions and goal of Indian politicians.*

HIS INHERITANCE

Let us glance at the antecedents of this great Emperor of India, in whose veins flowed not one drop of *Indian blood.*

We have seen how Babur, descendant of the two Scourges of Asia, Timur, the Moslem, and Chingiz Khan, the Tartar, first enlarged his kingdom of Samarkand by adding Kabul and other domains of Afghan kings before he invaded India to defeat the Afghan Emperor, who reigned at Delhi, as well as a number of Hindu chieftains on the famous battlefield of Panipat in 1526. Having wrested India from the preceding conquerors, of his own faith of Islam though opponents in political realms, Babur had extended his dominions by defeating a confederacy of Rajput states at Fatehpur Siki, near Agra.

Fired with the daring and restlessness of the Tartar, the courage and capacity of the Turk, and dowered with the culture and urbanity of the Persian, this great Soldier of Fortune laid the groundwork of the splendid empire which his grandson Akbar was to complete.

Babur had neither time nor inclination for consolidating the turbulent territories which he conquered. When he died he held by force an empire which stretched from the River Oxus (northernmost boundary of present-day Afghanistan) to the border of the Gangetic delta in Bengal.

Humayan succeeded him, but the son possessed neither the political nor personal strength of the father. Ten of the twenty-six years of Humayan's nominal reign were spent in bitter and bloody war with Sher Shah, the Afghan ruler of Bengal, who had never bowed to even Babur, while the remaining sixteen were endured in exile. Most of the Afghan rulers of Moslem Indian states, which had been incorporated in Babur's empire, joined with Sher Shah to dethrone the Moghul ruler. Long settled south of the Khyber, the Afghan Mohammedans regarded India as their rightful dominion. They hated the Moghuls even though they too were Moslems, as much as they despised the Hindus. Impelled by jealous rivalry, the wrathful Moslem confederacy finally forced Humayan to flee for his life to Persia.

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*It should be borne in mind that only 14 per cent of the Indian men and 2 per cent of the women are literate in even primary execution of reading and writing in any language or dialect. The percentage of people who have definite ideas or ideals of political government is therefore highly restricted.

Humayan finally proceeded to Kabul where he rallied to his side many of the survivors of his father's victorious army. The spirit of battle again burning in their hearts, these grizzled veterans inflamed the ardors of the new contingents by the stirring stories of their glorious victory at Panipat thirty years before when they had piled a tower of victory of the heads of their slain enemies. Led by the youthful Prince Akbar, they poured once more through the Khyber. The vengeful army advanced into the Indian plains and repeated the former victory on the self-same battleground at Panipat, once more routing the Afghan forces and once more seizing Delhi.

This great victory brought to a lasting end the Afghan Moslem empires which had ruled with varying fortunes durin the 580 years since the father of Mahmud of Ghazni had defeated the Hindu Prince of Lahore in 977, and heralded the glorious reign of Akbar, for a few months after the youthful Prince had rewon India for his father, Humayan died leaving little mark on history, and the fourteen-year-old lad ascended the throne.

HIS CONQUESTS

Akbar inherited a tiny kingdom, smaller than the present territory of the Punjab. Five years later he firmly held the Punjab and surrounding districts, the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna, Gwalior in central India and Ajmer in Rajputana.

Exhilarated by these victories and ablaze with ambition, he resolved to brook no rival near his throne. To protect himself from possible family rivalries, he ordered his cousin's execution, forestalling attempts at a pretender's movement although his cousin had as much right to the throne as he.* His next step was to secure a firm grasp of his empire by a systematic subjection of northwestern and central India, which were flauntingly free of Moghul rule.

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*This was neither the first nor the last of similar executions which stained the glittering annals of all the Moghul dynasty.

Storming Chitor, we know how his furious onslaught was met by the Rajput defenders who finally immolated themselves on the swords of the besiegers after the women had committed sati on a funeral pyre, to save themselves from dishonor at the hands of the Moslems, or the dreaded rite known as Jauhar, usually practised by Rajputs when hard pressed. Enraged by the fierce resistance and subsequent perishing of the entire fortress, he massacred 30,000 of the people of the surrounding country who had assisted in the defense. Stripping the gates of the city from their hinges, he sent them to Agra, as well as the huge kettledrums which had been used to proclaim for miles around the exit and entrance of Hindu princes. These emblems he kept for exultation, but the plunder he kept for wealth.

Next he reduced Jaipur to a fief and cemented his conquest by marrying the daughter of that Hindu Prince. Then he subdued Jodhpur, later marrying his son Salim (afterwards the Emperor Jahangir) to the granddaughter of the Jodhpur Raja. He forced an allegiance upon Udaipur,* which boastfully refused to give a daughter of its ruling clan in marriage to Akbar or any subsequent Moghul emperor. All the Rajput states were now bound to Akbar.

With shrewd foresight, the Moghul realized his force of arms could not continue to crush the perpetual rebellions and repel the ceaseless attacks of Hindus and Afghan Moslems. He determined upon a hitherto undreamed of plan of uniting the warring elements into an organized whole. That great task he effected partly by force of arms, partly by diplomatic alliances but largely through employing Rajputs, Afghans and Moghuls in high posts and artfully playing one against the other. He made his brother-in-law, son of Jaipur Raja, governor of the Moslem Punjab. He placed another Hindu relative by marriage, Raja Man Singh, in charge of part of his army and this Raja did good service for Akbar from Kabul to Orissa, later ruling Bengal, the only province other than the Punjab that was mainly Moslem, from 1589 to 1604. His great finance minister was also a Hindu, Raja Todar Mall, who carried out the first regular land-settlement and survey of India. Akbar even made 51 Hindus, out of a total of 415, Commanders of Horse.

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*Udai Singh, the reigning Rana, who had escaped from Chitor and hidden in the mountains and deserts of the Sind, had emerged with his followers to recover some of his lost dominion and to found a new capital at Udaipur.

Having secured his strength by thus placating the Hindu leaders, he proceeded to woo the Hindu populace by abolishing the jaziah, the hated tax on all non-Moslems. The jaziah is still used, in Mohammedan-ruled countries such as Turkey and Afghanistan, with the purpose that the Moslem men shall be free to fight for the glory of Allah and Mohammed, while supported by the non-Moslems. The removal of the jaziah automatically freed the Hindus from the tax of subjection, and afterward all constituents, Moslems and Hindus, were taxed alike. This was no financial relief, but a tremendous moral evolution.

Akbar also ordered the sacred Sanskrit books and epic poems translated into Persian* and studied the Hindu religion with keen interest. He respected many of the Hindu laws but attempted to stop their inhuman rites. He forbade trial by ordeal; human sacrifices, and child-marriage before puberty; he did not forbid sati, or suttee, but endeavored to discourage any but voluntary acts by forbidding forcible burning or burying alive of widows.

Having thus incorporated his Hindu subjects into an effective supporting force, both civil and military, he secured their aid in suppressing the rebellious Moslem rulers of northern India. He used these Moslem powers in turn to subject other Hindu States from the Punjab to Bihar. Then he employed a combined force to subjugate the Afghan leaders of Bengal.

Akbar then turned his attention to Gujarat, the wealthy province that lay between Rajputana and the Arabian Sea. This

*The Latin of India and the court language of the Moghuls.

campaign marks a great event in Akbar's life. For the first time he beheld the ocean, and came into brief contact with some Portuguese merchants who had established themselves at Goa, on the southwestern coast, whence they sailed up the shore for trade even to Gujarat, where were rich and prosperous cities. The Portuguese fleet had by then usurped the mercantile trade of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. No other European power had ever landed in the country.

Akbar, who was then in his thirty-first year and in the fullest enjoyment of his exceptional powers, won a victory over Gujarat and departed for his capital, believing the state firmly subjected. But before he could reach home, Gujarat had rebelled. Mounted on swift she-camels, Akbar led a party at "hurricane" speed across the 600 intervening miles in eleven days all told, nine of which were spent in travelling, a remarkable feat of endurance. With a force of only 3,000, he fought the Gujarat host of 20,000, gaining a great victory not far from Ahmadabad. Although Akbar continued to hold Gujarat as his dominion, it was not conclusively subjected until 1593. It was for this reason that his first contact with the Portuguese was only the beginning of the epoch that was so momentously to affect the history of India in later years. He never forgot his first sight of the sea or his first meeting with the infidel Christians who were, in after years, to visit his court.

Akbar's efforts to establish his suzerainty over southern India were not as successful. For twelve years his armies were frustrated by the valor of the Moslem Queen Regent of Ahmadnagar. This clever woman skilfully united the armies of the usually hostile Abyssinian and Persian settlers in southern India, and further strengthened her confederacy by allying Bijapur and other Mohammedan States in the peninsula. Irritated by such continued failure, Akbar himself led the army which had vainly stormed the Queen's realms. During the attack, the Queen was assassinated by one of her own mutinous troops and Akbar captured her capital,* but her country was not conclusively subjected until the reign of Akbar's grandson.

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*At present a considerable town and headquarters of a district in the Bombay Presidency.

HIS ADMINISTRATION

Kashmir, Sind and all India, including Kandahar on the north to the Vindhya Mountains on the south, were finally conquered and consolidated into Akbar's empire. All this vast expanse he partitioned into provinces over each of which he placed a Viceroy with full civil and military control. The governors maintained courts modelled after that of Akbar, who held autocratic and absolute power over all the provinces. The administration of each province was framed on military lines. Administrative officials under each governor exercised general powers as well as military duties. These officials were called mansabdars, and were divided into thirty-three classes, each member of each class being compelled to furnish a certain number of cavalry to the Imperial army from his district, the greater the importance of the mansabdar (Persian for "office-holder") the greater the number of troops allotted to him.

The higher mansabdars drew enormous salaries which were proportioned to them from the revenues which they collected in their districts. When Akbar discarded the jaziah, he adopted, with the aid of his learned Hindu financial advisor, Raja Todar Mall, the Hindu revenue system which survives to this day. Akbar ordered the mansabdars to have all the fields in their territories surveyed and measured, classifying the kind of soil and type of cultivation; the amount of produce of each acre; and the allotted specific government tax, which amounted to one-third the gross produce. Then the officials were directed to fix the rates at which this share of the crops was commuted into a money payment. The collection of taxes and settlement of disputes were other duties of the mansabdars, who were permitted to retain a percentage for their own salaries.*

No particular laws other than those of the Koran were in existence. Civil disputes were left to the local officials, to be settled according to Koranic law. Criminal cases were usually heard by one of the upper classes of mansabdars who decided the crime and punishment as they saw fit, no code existing and no written judgments being delivered. In reaching their decisions they were instructed to pay little heed to witnesses or oaths and to rely rather on their own discernment and knowledge of human nature. Capital punishment was inflicted at the administrator's discretion and could assume any form he desired, the severity of the penalty and any horror of torture he chose depending on his own judgment alone. The only check on his authority was a possible risk of Akbar's displeasure if the administrator punished a favored man.

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*In his "Brief History of the Indian Peoples," which is used as a textbook at Calcutta University, Sir W. W. Hunter states on page 139: "Allowing for the difference in area and in purchasing power of silver, Akbar's tax was about three times the amount which the British take." This is particularly interesting in view of the claims of the Nationalist party that Great Britain is bleeding India while, to quote Gandhi, "The Moghuls brought us only prosperity."

This was the administrative system of Akbar's control of revenue, government and law. He did not seek to instruct the people at large or protect them by policing. His was not a democratic but a strongly autocratic government, the first really civil organization of India.

HIS LEGACIES

Fatal disintegration began immediately following his death.

Akbar's empire was one man's structure, one man's work. The mortar of unity gradually crumbled to dust when his firm hand relaxed its hold. With the man died his government.

As we journey the 418 miles from Udaipur to Agra, where Akbar first reigned, we travel over a high dusty plateau after leaving the highlands of Rajputana. Having departed from the main highways of travel, we must change at Ajmer, where the great Moghul yearly made a pilgrimage to the Moslem shrine. The road from his capital to Ajmer was so much used for pilgrimages and for movements of troops into Rajputana and Gujarat, that he caused masonry columns, corresponding to our milestones, called "Kos Minars," to be erected along the route. Several of these we see from the windows of our train after we leave Ajmer. We stop only long enough to change trains, for, historic as the city is, important for its strategical position as the "key to Rajputana" and interesting because of many associations of former days and its present business activities (it is a railway headquarters and manufacturing city of 113,512 inhabitants), we do not find it necessary to our understanding of India. We also pass through Jaipur, a Hindu city not founded until 1728, but only seven miles distant from Amber, the exquisitely beautiful marble city of the Jaipur Rajputs that rests upon a precipitous hill where the deserted palace stands empty but intact in all its former magnificence, glistening like alabaster atop the mountain. We shall see this gorgeous memorial another time, recalling now only that Akbar married the daughter of the Hindu Raja of Jaipur.

The country we pass through and the people we see offer no contrasting scenes to those we have viewed. The plateau is dusty. The people are dirty. They are not so virile as the Highlanders of Udaipur nor as lethargic as those south of the Ghats. They possess the same predilection for filthy garments. The men wear the same bright turbans and the women the same innumerable anklets and bracelets. Those that are not noisily getting off or on the train, sit motionless in the dirt of the roadside and stare indifferently at the passing life.

When we reach Agra, we do not stop in the city of the beautiful Taj Mahal and the stupendous fort that was begun by Akbar but the most important part of which was finished by his grandson. We immediately take a motor and drive along the well-constructed but dusty highway to Fatehpur-Sikri, twenty-three miles from Agra.

Fatehpur-Sikri was Akbar's city. He ordered it built and he alone of the Moghuls lived there. As we speed toward the dead citadel, we inquire of our escort, "Why did Akbar build a new capital and then desert it?"

"The Grand Moghul had one overwhelming sorrow, that all his sons had died in infancy. At the village of Sikri, the scene of the great victory of his grandfather, Babur, over the Hindu hosts, lived a fakir [a Moslem wise man], Shaik Salim Chisti, who was renowned for his godliness and foresight. Wonderful stories of the fakir's miraculous powers reached Akbar, who visited the wise man and revealed his dearest wish.

The Shaik advised Akbar to send the Hindu Empress to stay in his house at Sikri, and there within a year was born a son, the Prince Salim, who later so sorely tried his father's heart and afterward became the Emperor Jahangir, father of Shah Jahan, the builder of the sublime Taj Mahal. Overjoyed with the great realization of his ambition and the Shaik's fulfilled prediction, Akbar commanded a great city and citadel to be built, so that he could move his capital to this spot, for he believed it would be a well-omened seat for him. He also ordered a great mosque to be erected for the use of the Shaik. A multitude of architects and builders hastened to the vast plain where they erected the lofty and prideful walls of the wonder-city. Akbar made it his capital for fifteen years, from 1570 to 1585, then went off to Lahore and paid only a passing visit in 1601."

"You mean he ordered the erection of a stupendous and magnificent city and then used it for only fifteen years, and that no one has lived there since?"

"Ah, yes, that was nothing for a great Moghul. Some say the water was brackish but I don't think that was the reason, for Akbar would have ordered an aqueduct built from Agra if he'd wanted to stay. All three of his sons were such disappointments, I think he wanted no more."

Crossing the great plain, we see at a distance the massive red battlements rearing to a towering height, the mighty walls completely surrounding the once huge city. As our car stops before a stupendous gate, we are mobbed by the usual beggars and mendicants. Here we see more girl mothers bending under the weight of their own babies than at any place we've visited so far. This is because the small village clustering around the once imperial walls is too lifeless to overshadow the small mothers who cannot be more than nine or ten years old.

Entering the magnificent Gateway of Victory, which rears in all its grandeur to the great height of 176 feet and was erected to commemorate the momentous victory over Gujarat, we pass through the formidable wall, thirty-two feet in thickness, with seven bastioned gates, which circles the deserted city for seven miles.

Silent witness of a vanished dream, symbol of one man's aspirations, capital of one man's empire, life died in these walls of grandeur even as the spirit of unity died in all the realms of India, when Akbar departed this world. No later ruler aspired to his glorious city, just as none other aspired to his ideals.

Gorgeous palaces of imposing grandeur, empty, mute, surround us. We walk through vast courtyards in the steps of the great Emperor, for often he trod these stones, the passageways so laid out that he could visit one of his numerous queens without being observed by the others. Each zenana is an exquisite example of carving whose delicacy and perfection of work awes the eye. Of them all, that of the Turkish queen is the most elaborate. *Every square inch,* including the soffits of the cornices, is exquisitely sculptured in bas-relief, the ceilings and decoration of the veranda pillars and pilasters being exceptionally fine. Much of the carving is curiously like Chinese work, evidence of the diversity of artists he commanded to erect this Saracen Versailles of India. Yet not one touch of false or jarring taste or over-ornamentation spoils the perfect whole. The entire huge structure is as minutely and marvellously cut as though each panel were a delicate fan.

We visit the stables adjoining the courts, where stalls upon stalls for the royal horses and camels stand empty, each with its large iron rings still inserted in the sandstone as though waiting for the cavalries to return from wars of conquest.

Returning to the expansive quadrangle, we visit the great mosque, which our guide proudly tells us is a copy of the one at Mecca, to which no Christian can testify. Seventy feet in height, crowned by three huge domes, this Moslem cathedral is richly ornamented and elaborately carved. Three vast chambers, surrounded by rows of lofty pillars of Hindu design, are colossal structures of beauty. At a little distance stands the most venerated of all the edifices in the deserted city, the shrine to which many Moslem pilgrims come to this day to pay homage. It is the white marble tomb of the Saint, Shaik Salim Chisti. The doors are of carved marble that defy description, as do the delicately sculptured marble screens which resemble fine lace in their exquisite fretwork. The cenotaph within this alabaster sepulchre is intricately inlaid with mother-of-pearl, the entire shrine resembling a great gleaming pearl. The only colors that touch the marble purity are the numbers of rainbow-hued threads tied in the interstices of the superb screens. These are fastened here by pilgrims who believe that any wish made in the tomb will be fulfilled as was that of Akbar. When the wish is realized they return to take the thread away.

We have saved until the last the Dewan-i-Khas, or Hall of Private Audiences, a stupendous structure pregnant with memories of the great Akbar. Its lofty chamber contains a unique pillar throne and suspended galleries like passageways which radiate from a great central column to a balcony that encircles it. We stand on the exalted platform of the Emperor and our mind's eyes people once more the vast hall with white-bearded scholars sitting in oriental fashion in these strange galleries while Akbar, clad in regal splendor, calls upon first one and then another to expound his particular philosophy. Every Thursday evening, the night before the Mohammedan Sabbath, Akbar sought to elicit truth from the debates of various tenets and creeds. Abu-l-Fazl, learned friend of Akbar and Moslem laureate and premier of the empire, who vividly and lengthily chronicled the life at Akbar's court, fanned the quarrels by skilfully shifting the disputes from one point to another, or attempted to calm vehement orators when they waxed too venomous. Akbar summoned to this audience hall the deepest scholars of keenest dialectic, Mohammedan fakirs, Hindu Brahmans, Zoroastic fire-worshippers and Portuguese priests. The only faith of which no representation is evidenced is Buddhism, the omission being unexplained. Here stirring philosophies were expounded, and battles for creeds waxed hot until vituperation stung the air.

To this seeker of the truth, tolerant, free from prejudice, the bitterness of the arguments seemed but increasing proof of the insufficiency of any one faith. The scholars' defense of their dogmas only filled him with compassion for the futility of their reasoning and contempt for the narrowness of their grasp. Searching for the master-key of the infinite, he continued to listen eagerly to fervent words of Christian Fathers; to Vedanta philosophy of ascetic Yogis; to readings from the Sanskrit classics and profundities of all the creeds.

Though raised in the strict faith of Islam, ever waging war according to Moslem standards, Mohammedanism *as a faith* came no longer to satisfy him, although he continued his pilgrimages, and contemplated a hadj, to Mecca. Finally he felt that the rigid Moslems of his court were but "casting in his teeth" their insistent quotations from the Koran which seemed only a tradition and no longer a divine canon. He then determined on a step that proved the fallibility of his wisdom, the essential weakness underneath his sincerity: he decided he himself would be head of the church, that he would be Pope as well as Emperor of India. He decreed that all Moslems should discontinue the customary "Salem" when they met and greet each other "Allahu Akbar," and the reply was to be "Jalla Jalaluh," meaning "May his glory shine!" While at first denying divine incarnation, he did not object when, following the precedents of the Caliphs (successors of Mohammed), he stood before the people in the great mosque, which we have just visited, one Friday in 1580 and read a prayer drawn up by Faizi, brother of Abu-l-Fazl, and himself:

The Lord to me the Kingdom gave,
He made me prudent, strong and brave,
He guided me with right and ruth,
Filling my heart with love of truth;
No tongue of man can sum His State—
Allahu Akbar! God is great!

So fell the greatest man India has ever produced.

Soon after this dramatic event, Akbar promulgated a document which ordained that his judgment was greater than every legal and religious authority except the plain letter of the Koran, which he always upheld.* This decree proclaimed his imperial infallibility, his authority superseding that of all former prophets, Moses, Abraham, Jesus and even, what was heresy to the Moslems, Mohammed. Incorporating in his "Divine Faith" the practices and beliefs he judged to be the best of all faiths, every morning he publicly worshipped the sun as representative of the divine soul which animates the universe. While he performed the ceremony, he himself was worshipped by the multitudes.

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*Doctor Vincent Smith disagrees with several other authorities in some particulars. "From 1582, when the new religion was solemnly promulgated at a council, and indeed from a date considerably earlier, Akbar was not a Mohammedan, although on occasion he

The stricken Moslems were horrified; the Jesuits wrathful; the Hindus only mildly upset, for Mohammed was no prophet of theirs, and the Sun was one of their idols; but all accused him of accepting homage permitted only to God. Starting from the broad ground of admirable toleration, Akbar thus fell from grace.

This cult, which really incorporated much of the beauty and profundity of Mohammedanism, tempered by a few of the tenets of Christianity and the Sun-worship of Zoroaster's, was cordially professed by only a small band of courtiers calling themselves "the elect," including Faizi, the poet, Abu-l-Fazl, the philosopher-premier, and other Persians and one Hindu, Birbal. The rest of the court remained indifferent, when not hostile. This eclectic pantheism died with Akbar, as well as much of the broad-minded sympathy which inspired such a wide attempt at catholicity.

performed acts of conformity from motives of policy. He told Monserrate distinctly early in 1582 that he was not a Moslem, and that he paid no heed to the kalima, or Mohammedan formula of faith. In that year and subsequent years he issued a stream of regulations openly hostile to Islam and inculcating practices learned from the Parsee, Hindu and Jain teachers whom he received with marked favor and to whom he listened with profound attention. He appeared in public with Hindu sectarian marks on his forehead, while also showing reverence for the Virgin Mary, the Gospels and the symbols of the Christian faith. His conduct at different times justified Christians, Hindus, Jains and Parsees in severely claiming him as one of themselves. But his heart was never really touched by any doctrine, and he died, as he had lived for many years, a man whose religion nobody could name. The authors who affirm that he formally professed Islam on his death-bed appear to be mistaken.

"A few out of many fantastic ordinances may be mentioned. Regulations aimed at Islam, and amounting along with others to an irritating persecution of that religion, wholly inconsistent with the principle of universal toleration, included the following: No child was to be given the name of Mohammed, and if he had already received it, the name must be changed. The sijdah, or prostration hitherto reserved for divine worship, was declared the due of the sovereign. The study of Arabic, Mohammedan law, or commentaries on the Koran were discouraged, and even the use of the specially Arabic letters in the alphabet was forbidden." ("Oxford History of India," pages 359–360.)

Following the proclamation of the Emperor's infallibility, the debates in the great hall, in which we now stand, came to an end. In this solitary elevation his chief intimates were the two brilliant brothers, Faizi, who prized his office of poet laureate above any political power, and Abu-l-Fazl, who became Durian, or Treasurer, of the Province of Delhi.

Heavy with thought, we turn from this hall of memories, and walk slowly toward the great gateway, passing the Pachisi court which lies to the south of the Dewan-i-Khas. The floor of the huge court is laid out in black and white squares and in the middle is a raised seat. Here the Emperor sat beneath a canopy of silk with his opponent, jesting and talking, while slave-girls, acting as chessmen, moved from square to square at his command. His Turkish queen's exquisite palace overlooks the court, and from behind the carved marble screen she and her ladies would watch the merry games. This touch of fun and the reminder of our guide that Akbar had more than five thousand wives and concubines* brings the dead sovereign even more realistically to our thoughts.

We leave the deserted city, where once throbbed a glittering life, to the jackals and even tigers which slink at night through its magnificent desolation, their weird cries echoing through the silent courtyards and empty palaces.

Once more passing through the massive portals of the Gateway of Victory, outside the walls we view with new interest the houses of the brothers Abu-l-Fazl and Faizi, now used as a boys' school. Achieving the car through the clawing rabble, we depart as the sinking sun glorifies the solemn domes with saffron and gold and gilds the proud stern battlements, dead dream of a departed dreamer.

We are silent as we travel the twenty-three miles back to Agra. We muse on the character of this gifted man whose force conquered, whose powers created, and whose inquiring mind led him to experiment in all departments of life, from religion to metallurgy; sometimes with good reason and keen judgment, sometimes from mere whim and curiosity. Once he separated a score of tiny babies from their mothers and shut them up in a house where none could speak to them, in order to see what faith they would evolve. After four years he let them out, and they came forth dumb!

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*Abu-l-Fazl humorously tells how "this huge number of women—a vexatious question even for great statesmen—furnished his Majesty with an opportunity to display his wisdom."

It must not be assumed that this great Moslem was floundering because of senility. His cult was declared the state religion eight years after he took Gujarat and twenty-five years before his death. Those twenty-five years were filled with conquests and constructive civil administration. I believe this man possessed such powers of analysis and synthesis that his own heart and brain found satisfaction in his created creed while his political perceptions induced him to accept the worship of the proletariat, convinced that their minds were capable of only respect, not introspection. His mind was dialectic but his plans were politic. He wanted the highest, the best and the strongest of all things. To make the strongest government. He chose the highest philosophies and the best mentalities from every sect and race. He was a constructive autocrat.

Welding the talents of the great majority of Hindus with that of the minority of Moslems, Akbar built a structure of government that endured of its own strength for two generations. But the fabrication about the framework withered when his pregnant mind and generative force were gone. The empire was the culmination of one man's ability, not a nation's growth. Unity was Akbar's vision, Akbar's creation.

Two Infamous Idealists

Did the successors of Akbar advance the conditions of the people? Would the Moghul dynasty have eventually progressed from the foundations of Akbar's structure if the Europeans had not come out of the West?

It is not enough to answer "No!" It is not enough even to state that persecutions and atrocities were the customary lot of the common peoples and that their life blood was sucked and drained that these Moslem kings might dwell in surroundings of transcendent beauty. India had no monopoly of the cruelty of the world. For instance, in England the contemporary Stuarts were most assuredly not merciful rulers; yet their reigns show a steady insistence and advance of parliamentary government by the people. Their rules were harsh, but also progressive. Was this true in India? A brief summary of characteristic events of the remaining years of Moghul authority will permit a comprehension of the conditions in India at the height of her glory, and a judgment as to whether the coming of the British brought oppression or deliverance.

JAHANGIR, 1605–1627

The decay of the empire began with Jahangir's succession, but as Rome seemed most magnificent just before her fall, so did India.

The beauty and magnificence of the great palaces at Agra and Delhi, and particularly the sublimity of the Taj Mahal, seem expressive of the height of idealism of man. No men ever conceived or built such glorious and gorgeous structures as did Jahangir and his son Shah Jahan. Typical of the sharp contradictions of India, these two emperors possessed characters of cruelty and sordidness combined with superb inspiration and supreme appreciation of abstract beauty. Between the two warring strains no moderating element existed. Romance gilded their lives, and treachery and atrocity blackened their hearts.

Jahangir, when Prince Salim, had weighted his father's heart with grief. Two of Akbar's sons having sunk to dishonored deaths, Salim, his eldest, due to jealousy of influence and hatred of censure, manipulated the murder of the great Abu-l-Fazl, dearest friend and most valued counsellor of Akbar. The symptoms of Akbar's fatal illness from the administration of a secret irritant poison, such as diamond dust, caused a strong suspicion in the hearts of many that Salim murdered also his father. The malevolent character of Salim so estranged many of the court that they urged the son of Salim, Prince Khusru, who was exceedingly beloved, to take his father's throne. Whether actuated by ambition or by fear of his father's wrath or by both motives, Khusru left Agra secretly with great haste, accompanied by a considerable force, and hastened to the Punjab. His father pursued him and demanded his son from the Governor of Lahore. Khusru had taken no action against his father and no treachery was ever proved. Yet the infuriated monarch proceeded to take fearful vengeance. Loaded with chains, the captured Prince was finally brought before his father, who instructed in person the torturing of the boy. Then he forced the Prince to watch the fiendish inquisitions of his friends and followers. The Prince's adherents were then either hung from the trees or impaled on prepared stakes set up along each side of a road. Then Salim, mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant, rode between the ranks of writhing victims, pointing them out to his wretched son, who was forced to accompany the Emperor on a small unadorned elephant. Every man who had given food or money to the Prince on his flight was likewise slowly tortured; Khusru was then blinded and later murdered at his father's order. This atrocious cruelty toward his son typified the deeds of Salim who assumed the name of Jahangir, or "World Seizer," and a long Moslem title meaning "Light of the Faith."

Jahangir at first upheld the Mohammedan faith and ignored the Jesuit Fathers and Hindu Brahmans. Later he accepted the gift of a Persian version of the Gospels and for a while permitted the Fathers to profess their faith. The zeal for Islam, which this son of a Moslem father and a Hindu mother displayed at the beginning, eventually modified and he in turn moodily listened to the Jesuits and as unaccountably and moodily punished or ignored them.

This vacillation was further betrayed when Captain William Hawkins arrived at Jahangir's court with a letter from James I of England asking for a grant of rights to trade, which Jahangir gave. This permit so aroused the hostility of the Portuguese that the Emperor revoked his decree, conciliated the Portuguese and then broke again with them all. Hawkins quitted the Court, baffled by the intrigues of the Portuguese and the instability of the imperial policy. The Moghul empire was absolutely powerless at sea, having only two or three ships in Gujarat. These the Portuguese seized, imprisoning many Moslems, and plundering the cargoes. This retaliation was outrageous to Jahangir, who ordered revenge. War, captivity and torture resulted and the Portuguese were expelled from Gujarat.

Jahangir lacked not only many of the attributes of his father's character, but even the military genius of his Moghul ancestors. He lost Kandahar but gained more territory in the south, the groundwork of this campaign already having been laid by Akbar. Although his administration was continued in general along the lines laid down by Akbar, there was steady deterioration of the empire due to Jahangir's personal inferiority as compared with his illustrious parent.

His ferocity of temper at times exhibited itself in the most fiendish cruelties. His memoirs, written by his own hand or dictated to a scribe, cover nineteen years of his reign and offer a striking portrayal of a typical Asiatic despot, a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and barbarism, good sense and childishness. Connoisseur of fine arts, generous patron of artists, lover of music and song, he would go into ecstasies over a waterfall or rhapsodize about the color of flowers and then immediately gloat with sadistic pleasure while watching the torturing of men as they writhed impaled, or were torn to pieces by elephants. His diary is filled with sickening delight at the inquisitions, intermixed with expressions of love for his beautiful and adored Empress, Nur Jahan, "Light of the World," with whom he had fallen in love as a boy. This great romance of his life was sincere and beautiful. Just as his exquisite structures seem those of another man, so does his love for his Queen. So great are the contradictions of this man that we shall return to Agra and recall only the beauty of his character when we can appreciate his admirable qualities and transcendent gifts unstained and undefiled by his political and administrative career.

SHAH JAHAN, 1628–1658

Khusru having been murdered by his father, two sons remained who contested the throne, for such was the curse of every Moghul Emperor. Shah Jahan was the cleverer and more ruthless of the two. Already married to the beloved Mumtaz Mahal, daughter of Nur Jahan's brother, and inspiration for the most ethereal and sublime building ever erected, the Taj Mahal, Shah Jahan completed orders for his brother's atrocious execution. The brother escaped to Persia where he lived as a pensioner of the Shah. All other male relatives were killed by one method or another and Shah Jahan established his rule, the drastic removal of all possible claimants securing him undisputed authority for thirty years.

This Emperor had a passion for jewels and took extraordinary delight in magnificence that was hitherto undreamed of, and never again surpassed. He ordered the most gorgeous structure ever conceived, a throne in the form of a divan on golden legs, the enamelled canopy supported by twelve emerald pillars, each of which bore two peacocks encrusted with gems. A tree covered with diamonds, emeralds, rubies and pearls stood between each pair of birds. This gorgeous and glittering throne, worth millions upon millions of rupees, was used until 1739, when it was carried off to Persia, together with other rich treasures, by invading plunderers who began to pour through the Khyber and despoil and lay waste the land as soon as the strength of Akbar's rule had relaxed.

But what of the proletariat who paid for this magnificence? From the official historian, Abu-l Hamid, who, contrary to the frequent practice of his kind, made no attempt to disguise the horror of the calamitous reign, we learn

> The inhabitants of these two countries [the Deccan and Gujarat] were reduced to the direst extremity. Life was offered for a loaf but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. Destitution at last reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh

> of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions on the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death, and who retained the power to move, wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness.

Details of the horrible sufferings are set out in many other records. Peter Mundy, an English traveller, who journeyed on business from Surat to Agra and Patna and back again, described the towns where "the dead are dragged out by the heels stark naked, of all ages and sexes, and there are left, so that the way is half barred up."

Not only pestilence and famine destroyed the people, but the excessive Moslem zeal of Shah Jahan induced him to persecute the Hindus and destroy their temples as well as to kill and torture numbers of Christians. In his campaigns of aggression he waged merciless warfare. On the completion of one of his savage operations he hastened to Agra to occupy himself with the planning and building of the exquisite tomb of his dead queen: the Taj Mahal.

The records of this Moghul, who, like his father, Jahangir, perpetrated the most fiendish cruelties and erected the most exquisite marble structures of poetic design while the empire shrunk in size and shrivelled in power, so disgust and repulse our minds that we shall not stop at Agra at this time to behold that masterpiece of art—the Taj Mahal—nor shall we now go on to Delhi and view the palace which defeats description of its beauty and splendor, but depart for Madras. We cannot revel at present in the sublime loveliness of structures detached from the horrors of Shah Jahan's administration.

Omega of the Moghuls

We have now reached the reign of the last of the six magnificent Moghuls who Gandhi claims brought only prosperity to India.

AURANGZEB, 1658–1707

As Jahangir had risen against his illustrious and loving father, Akbar, and Shah Jahan had mutinied against Jahangir, so Shah Jahan in his turn suffered from the intrigues and rebellion of his family. Nemesis followed in the footsteps of the glittering Moghuls.

After a treacherous conflict with his brethren, Aurangzeb imprisoned his father and proclaimed himself Emperor in 1658. The unhappy Shah Jahan was kept in confinement for seven years in the fort of Agra, in sight of his beloved Taj Mahal. There he died a state prisoner in 1666.

Proclaiming himself "Conqueror of the Universe," Aurangzeb widened the limits of his empire. This extension was comparatively easy because the populace were so impoverished and starved that resistance was indeed feeble. Beginning with the rebellion against his father, consolidated by the murder of his brethren, this reign darkened to a close amid mutinies, intrigues and revolutions. Sir William Wilson Hunter comments on Aurangzeb's rule: "Its public aspects consisted of a magnificent court in northern India; conquests of the independent Mohammedan kings in the South; and wars against the Hindu powers, which, alike in Rajputana and in Southern India or the Deccan, were gathering strength for the overthrow of the Moghul Empire."*

Aurangzeb's bigotry and cruelty arrayed all the Hindu peoples and many of the Moslems of northern India against him. He revived the hated and insulting jaziah, oppressed the Moslems and persecuted the Hindus. In 1680 even his rebel son, Prince Akbar, deserted to the revolted Rajputs, taking with him a whole division of the Moghul, or Imperial army. The Hindu States pillaged and slaughtered the Emperor's remaining provinces, and he pillaged and slaughtered the Rajputs.

The last half of his reign, or twenty-four years, Aurangzeb spent in conquering southern India. Golconda and Bijapur, which had been buffers between the Moslem Empire and the Hindu Mahratta tribes, fell in the severe struggle. Although Aurangzeb managed a victory, his empire was tottering and enfeebled with exhaustion. He destroyed his own realms and armies in destroying those of his conquests and left the whole north a great arena stripped of strength, bare and unprotected for the operations of the Mahrattas.

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*"Brief History of the Indian Peoples," page 145.

After much guerilla warfare, the Mahrattas had sprung up into a powerful fighting nation. While Aurangzeb exhausted his strength, treasures and troops, the Mahrattas hemmed him in. If he sent out a skirmishing expedition, the Mahrattas cut it to pieces. If he moved against them in force, they vanished into the hills. His own soldiers deserted to the enemy until he was compelled to humiliate himself and open negotiations with the Hindu tribes. But the insolent exultation of the Mahratta chiefs was too much for the once powerful Emperor, who fled to Ahmadnagar for refuge, where he died in a few months. Thus ended the glory of the great Moghul Dynasty.

THE END OF THE MOSLEM EMPIRES

Succeeding emperors were but puppets in the hands of cunning and ambitious statesmen. The line of the Moghuls had ended with Aurangzeb, but Moslems who were figureheads continued for a time. The empire fell into pieces. The Sikhs rebelled and the Moslem troops perpetrated such savage atrocities that the Sikhs never have forgiven or forgotten to this day. Perhaps some understanding of the reign of horror can be gained when we read:

> Banda [leader of the Sikhs, who had been captured] was carried about in an iron cage, tricked out in the mockery of imperial robes, with scarlet turban and cloth of gold. His son's heart was torn out before his eyes and thrown in his face. He himself was then pulled to pieces with red-hot pincers; and the Sikhs were exterminated like mad dogs. [1716.]

The Rajputs successfully severed their dominions. The Mahrattas pillaged what had once been an empire and seized

Malwa (1743) and Orissa (1751) and exacted an imperial grant of tribute from Bengal (1751).

In the midst of all this horror and welter of disintegration, Asian hordes poured through the Khyber in one continuous stream of marauders. From 1739 until 1761 the Afghans alone burst through the Pass six times, slaughtering, butchering, looting and then scornfully retiring to their country with the golden plunder of a dead Moghul Empire. The cruelties inflicted upon Delhi and northern India during these six incursions form an appalling tale of bloodshed and wanton horrors. On one occasion Delhi was subjected to every enormity which barbarian hordes can inflict on a prostrate enemy. Meanwhile the Moslem Afghan cavalry was scouring the land, sacking and demolishing the shrines and treasure stores of the Hindus, and destroying and mutilating the people and the country.

The facts of historical records from varied and unconnected sources all agree in their descriptions of the horrors. In the face of vehement and insistent claims that the invaders through the Khyber "brought only prosperity"* and that the *Central Asian hordes are preferable to English rule*, as Mahandas Gandhi proclaims, let us make another effort in our search for truth. So far we have been unable to find a single record that supports his statements or that does not clothe him in shame. Let us read what the Tyrolese Jesuit Tieffenthaler, an unbiased chronicler who was in India at that time, has to tell us:

> The Afghans burned the houses, together with their inmates, slaughtering others with the sword and the lance; hauling off into captivity maidens and youths, men and women. In the temples they slaughtered cows, the sacred animal of the Hindus, and smeared the images and pavement with the blood.

Districts that had once been densely populated were swept bare of inhabitants by the exultant Moslem invaders. For instance Gujranwala, the ancient capital of the Punjab, was utterly depopulated. The present settlers are immigrants of comparatively recent years, the district, which was utterly stripped of its population, now possessing a million people, so fast have they multiplied since the Khyber corridor has been closed by Great Britain.

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*See Chapter II, page 40.

When the third decisive battle was fought in 1761 on the plains of Panipat, the same memorable battleground on which Babur and Akbar had twice won the sovereignty of India, the Afghans defeated the Mahrattas. Although the Mohammedans could still win victories, they were not powerful enough to still rule India.

During the anarchy which followed, the British slowly built up an influence backed by enterprise and prestige. Until 1857, when Great Britain took over the government, petty Moslem emperors continued as figureheads over a numerous seraglio. But their rule was confined to the palace, while the Mahrattas, Sikhs and English struggled for supremacy.

The latest of these Moslem kings were but pensioners at Delhi. During the mutiny of 1857, the last king joined in the fighting against the British, who captured him and held him a state prisoner in Rangoon until his death in 1862.

The glories of the Great Moghuls were dim and faded before the English Trading Company had gained a firm foothold in India. But 70,000,000 Indian Moslems still dream of their golden empire and plan for the grand revival, while their brother Sons of Islam lurk in Afghanistan, alert and ready to pour through the Khyber and "by the sword spread the Faith" and follow the commands of Mohammed: "Kill them wheresoever ye find them and thrust them out from whence they thrust you out; for dissent is worse than slaughter;—if they fight you, then kill them; such is the reward of the infidels!"

CHAPTER V

THE QUESTS FROM EUROPE

MADRAS is the Plymouth Rock of English settlements in India.

Nineteen years after the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts, Francis Day of the East India Company bought a grant of land from the Hindu Raja of the surrounding territory at Madrassapatan, or Madras as it is called to-day, and there the first English fort of permanent colonization was erected.

To reach this metropolis, which was for many years the premier port and is now the third largest city in India, with a population of 550,000, we shall travel southward through the Vindhya mountains and for the first time penetrate the country south of the Deccan. We have not gone into the history of the tip of the peninsula for it was always isolated from the empires of the North, even that of Akbar. The Raja of Chandragiri, who sold Madras to the English Trading Company, was the last representative of the Royal family of Vijayanagar, a great Hindu kingdom of the peninsula which had been destroyed in 1565 by the Moslem States of the Deccan: Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golconda, and Bidar. We have seen how these Deccan kingdoms were later incorporated in the empire of Akbar who never attacked Vijayanagar in the far south. Little did the Moslems of the Deccan or even the Moghuls of the empire dream that a scion of the despoiled and devastated Vijayanagar would assist another conquering race, destined to acquire supremacy over all India, by selling them a small foothold. These new settlers were eventually to save those selfsame antagonistic Mohammedans from utter destruction by the Hindu Mahrattas and the invading Asians through the Khyber.

To reach Madras on the shallow shores of the southeastern coast, we must travel for 1,447 miles in a great zigzag, due to the wild and rugged heights of mountainous country that so effectively barred the south to the Afghans and Moghuls. During the sixty-seven hours of transit and change, we shall have ample time to apply ourselves to the history leading up to and following the purchase of Madras. We shall not seek knowledge from any tongue but study indisputable historical records that give us unbiased information. With stories of British imposition and oppression ringing in our ears from Hindu charges, what do we learn? That deliberate conquest of India was not the intent nor the endeavor of the first British colonists; that history, past and present, does not support the indictment that the subsequent government by Great Britain has used a policy of calculated exploitation and oppression.

Great Britain came to rule over two-thirds of India and to hold suzerainty over one-third of the country as a result of gradual stages of expansion. The Indian peoples co-operated in promoting the growth of British authority until the extension of territorial responsibilities amounted to virtual sovereignty over the vast country south of the Himalayas. It was then, two hundred and fifty years after the first English trading colony was established on the eastern coast, that India was recognized as a part of the British Empire.

The administrating of a dependency so vast in area, so diverse in population, at such a distance from the Central Power, constitutes a political situation unprecedented in the world's history. The Roman and Russian empires were colossal in extent, but their dominions were compact and knit together by solid communications, the territories having been accumulated step by step, their frontiers advancing from one foothold to another, with no interruptions of foreign-governed areas between the borders of their provinces. This unique circumstance of the governing of an immense alien population by a Parliament of dissimilar people, situated almost on the other side of the earth, is unparalleled in history. This relation, its causes and results, warrant interest and study.

The Early Argosies

From time immemorial the trade of Europe with the rich and productive countries of Asia has been a lucrative branch of the world's commerce. For centuries Alexandria was the emporium and halfway centre of the sea-borne trade in silk, cotton, pearls and other luxuries. Constantinople controlled the overland route from the Persian Gulf to Syria. As the Roman and Byzantine empires fell into decay and ruin from internal corruption and Mohammedan conquest, Venice and Genoa, cities of inland seas which lay beyond the range of Moslem capture, rose into prominence and power. Venice, in particular, flourished. Her ships swept the Mediterranean and literally "held the gorgeous East in fee" to the envy of all western Europe.

The Spanish King and Queen, sovereigns of a country which had suffered under the iron heel of the Moslem Moors, listened to the urge of a Genoan, Christopher Columbus, who believed the earth was round and that he could reach India and her opulent marts by sailing to the west, thus avoiding toll and conflict with the controllers of the Near East routes. Financed by Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus sailed across the Atlantic in search of India. He found America.

Aroused by the endeavors of Columbus, the Cabots were sent out by the English to search for a northwestern passage to India. They discovered Newfoundland and sailed along the coast of North America from Labrador to Virginia in search of a cut through the land they believed to be an island.

Almost simultaneously Amerigo Vespucci, after whom the Americas are named, sailed from Portugal on the same mission for his country. He discovered Venezuela.

The same year that the Cabots and Amerigo Vespucci sailed westward, Vasco da Gama also started from Lisbon, but he sailed eastward, attempting another route to India. He succeeded in rounding the Cape of Good Hope, galvanizing all Europe into vigorous expansion of explorations and revolutionizing Indian history by opening the country to bold traders from the West.

The Portuguese Round the Cape

Anchoring off Calicut, the southern part of India's west coast, da Gama won favor with the Hindu Raja of the surrounding country, who, on da Gama's departure, wrote to the King of Portugal: "Vasco da Gama, a nobleman of your household, has visited my kingdom and given me great pleasure. In my kingdom is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper and precious stones. What I seek from your country is gold, silver, coral and scarlet."

Da Gama didn't display gratitude for this reception for in 1502, after the Pope Alexander Borgia issued his Bull dividing the whole undiscovered non-Christian world between Spain and Portugal, constituting the Portuguese king, the "Lord of the Navigation, Conquests and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India," the explorer again set sail for India with a fleet of twenty vessels and plundered the kingdom of Calicut with the assistance of two neighboring Rajas in order to obtain products without payment. This was typical of the policy of ensuing Portuguese traders.

In 1503 the great Alfonso de Albuquerque sailed to India in command of one of three expeditions from Portugal. Two years later a large fleet of twenty-two vessels and 1,500 men was sent out under Francisco de Almeida, who became the first Viceroy of India. Almeida was opposed to multiplying settlements on land, holding that Portugal did not possess men enough to occupy many forts and that such factories (trading posts) as might be established should rely for protection on the Portuguese fleets in command of the sea. He maintained: "the greater the number of fortresses you hold, the weaker will be your power; let all our forces be on the sea. Let it be known for certain that as long as you may be powerful at sea, you will hold India as yours; and if you do not possess the power, little will avail you a fortress on shore."

Albuquerque, who headed the opposing faction, and who succeeded Almeida as Viceroy in 1509, definitely upheld a purpose of founding a Portuguese empire in the East. He desired to occupy certain strongholds and to rule them directly, and proposed mixed marriages in order to form a population which should be at once loyal to Portugal and yet satisfied to remain in the occupied area for life. In the territories that he could not conquer or colonize, he desired to build fortresses in order to induce native monarchs to recognize the power and supremacy of the King of Portugal and to pay him tribute.

Sanctioned by the Crown, Albuquerque carried out part of his programme. In 1510 he seized and occupied the island of Goa, where was the principal port of the realms of the Sultan of Bijapur, which continues to be held by Portugal to this day. Having thus captured the first territory to be acquired by Europeans since the time of Alexander the Great, he expelled or killed all Mohammedan men and forced their women to marry his troops. He also brought about marriages of his men with Hindu women, thus creating the large class of Portuguese half-castes, often blacker in color than ordinary Indians of full blood, who now are so numerous at Bombay and along the west coast. Most of these people have hardly a trace of European blood, but they still use Portuguese names. They devote themselves largely to domestic service, many being cooks or waiters. Having retained the religion of the Roman Catholic church, they are outcastes, set apart by the Indian masses. Albuquerque did not foresee that his plan would produce a degenerate race entirely destitute of the progressive qualities to which Europeans owe their success in India to-day.

After securing Goa, Albuquerque aimed at depriving the Mohammedans of the entire trade of the East with Europe, which they had monopolized since the seventh century, following the rise and spread of Islam. He accordingly proceeded to capture Malacca, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, which was the principal emporium of trade with the Spice Islands and the Far East. At the time of Albuquerque's attack, Malacca controlled a vast commerce and was crowded by men from all the trading nations of the Far East: Arabs, Chinese, Javanase, Gujaratis and Bengalis. To all save the Mohammedans, Albuquerque showed mercy, but the Moslems he tortured and slaughtered. His whole ambition was centred on "quenching the fire of this net of Mohammed." He held it to be very certain that "if we take this trade of Malacca away out of their hands, Cairo and Mecca will be entirely ruined, and to Venice will no spices be conveyed except what her merchants go and buy in Portugal." Building a fortress around the town, Albuquerque secured Portuguese rule for a hundred and thirty years after which Malacca fell to the Dutch and later to the British in 1824. After exploring more of the Spice Islands, he returned to find Goa closely besieged by forces of the Sultan of Bijapur. After hard fighting Albuquerque effected its relief in 1512.

Further carrying out the Portuguese policy of destruction of the trade of the Mohammedan Arabs in the Red Sea, Albuquerque unsuccessfully attempted to take Aden in 1513. After bringing about the poisoning of the sovereign of Calicut, he caused a fort to be erected there. In 1515 he died, but his policies were continued. Daman and Diu (109 miles and 115 miles north of the present city of Bombay), off the coast of Gujarat, as well as the three islands of Bassein, Salsette and Bombay, were ceded by the Sultan of Gujarat to the Portuguese.

Goa, first Christian colony in India, was the scene of the diligent labors of Saint Francis Xavier for the ten years previous to his death in 1552. His tomb and the shrine erected to his memory are still sacred and many pilgrims journey there to pay homage.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, Goa was "the wealthiest city in all India." This of course, from a Portuguese account, is an exaggeration, but the city, with a population of 200,000, did indeed wax rich. However, decay followed rapidly, mainly due to the demolishing by the Moslems of the wealthy Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, whose trade was of great value. Daman and Diu continued strong footholds, the European guns enabling them to successfully withstand the attacks of the Gujaratis and even Akbar himself.

For the entire century from 1500 to 1600 the Portuguese enjoyed a monopoly of oriental trade, but they had neither the type of character nor the political power to colonize and control India. They had been schooled in wars with the Mohammedan Moors whose tortures and inquisitions had stimulated cruel retaliations. The Portuguese regarded the Indians as pagan enemies whom it was righteous to tyrannize and plunder. They practised the "Sword of the Faith" in the same cruel manner as had the Moslem invaders who had greater strength in India than the Christian Portuguese. To fanatical zeal and desire to make Christians, by fair means or foul, was added a bitter jealousy of Arabian political and commercial conquests. Moslem progress in Europe and the Red Sea drove the Portuguese to atrocious persecutions, the torturing and burning of relapsed converts and unlucky wretches supposed to be witches, with methods of the Inquisition equal to the Moorish practices in Spain. The evidence suggests that a jealous fury predominated their religious fervor as the Portuguese usually were on good terms with heathen Hindus, while they killed the Mohammedans without mercy. Though the majority of Indians were then Hindus, as they are now, the major kingdoms as well as the great Moghul Empire were Mohammedan ruled. These short-sighted policies were alone enough to ruin the Portuguese design of creating an Indian dominion. In addition, their local governments were utterly corrupt and their men degraded by marriages with native women.

In 1580, eight years after Akbar first came in contact with the Portuguese in Gujarat, the union of Spain and Portugal dragged the smaller country into the European quarrels of the larger. Portuguese missions to the Moghul Court of Akbar, and later that of Jahangir, turned antagonistic when they learned that they were received for the purpose of disclosing European philosophy and European military tactics and not for conversion or disturbing of trade rights. Moreover, Portugal, with its limited area and scanty population, was strained to supply forces for Spanish interests in Europe and the Americas. There were no resources remaining to supply and control an Indian dominion.

The Portuguese holdings in the Far East withered away rapidly, never to be regained even after the mother kingdom had again become independent of Spain. To-day her sole possession in the East is a territory that has a coast line of about sixty-five miles which includes Goa, Daman, and Diu, all on the west of India, with a combined area of 1,100 square miles and a total population of 550,000.

Eastward Ho! Cried Europe

All Europe watched the successful exploits of the Portuguese in the East with envious eyes. After the defeat of the "Invincible Armada" in 1588, Portugal and Spain fell from a position of potency. England, the Netherlands and France were the nations paramount in power and they kept up a fierce and persistent competition for supremacy on land and sea.

With the increase of the spirit of adventure and the desire for wealth, the strife between these rival nations spread to America and the Indian archipelago. In the Americas the struggle was for possession of lands and natural resources, principally the mineral wealth. In India, where there were rich and strongly established kingdoms which desired to buy Western products as well as to sell, the contention was for commerce.

Trade was now recognized to be as valuable as territory, and commerce as lucrative as conquest. The richest markets were in the East. None of these powers respected the political and ecclesiastic jurisdiction of Spain and Portugal as given them in the Bull of Pope Alexander, but they were compelled to recognize the difficulties of invading a market so far from their own kingdoms when it was controlled and patrolled by the strong fleets of the Portuguese. Continuous warfare had also forced them to concentrate their efforts in Europe. With the defeat of Spain and Portugal in the West, these three powers began strenuous efforts to break the Portuguese monopoly in the Eastern archipelago.

England and the Netherlands, in particular, were maritime people. Now that a comparative peace enabled them to turn their attentions to themselves, they realized that with the increase of their dominions a great need and desire had arisen for the importation of Eastern products. The wars that had increased their territories had, however, decreased their wealth.

Exports offered the most lucrative field for financial returns. Comfort and prosperity depended upon commerce for the first time.

The fields of trade now became battlegrounds. Trading companies sent out to the East from these different countries found themselves contesting to the death for even the rights to barter along the coasts of India and the East Indies. The trading area of each was as firmly and fiercely defended from competitors as though they were invaders upon possessed soil. Attempts to annex commerce were as ruthlessly and bitterly fought as attempts to annex an enemy's province.

This continual warfare necessitated the arming of trading posts, as well as of vessels, for the field of attack existed all the way from the English Channel to the waters of the Far East. With such an extensive battleground, it was impossible for rival companies to look to their mother countries for settlement of disputes or protection of their subjects. The chartered companies therefore evolved a system of agreements which enabled them to fight among themselves without prejudicing the international relations between the mother countries. Although all of the companies, except the English, were royal monopolies, fostered by their governments, making conquests in the name of their Crown or Kingdom, these agreements expressed the acknowledgment of the sovereign rights of each company to wage war in certain latitudes upon any other companies without involving their respective countries in Europe. In other words, these agreements were licenses for private wars, a unique and eventful system that gave romance and adventure to the traders who were, in truth, soldiers of fortune.

We shall summarize the records of the main contestants in this strenuous war for commerce so that we can understand and judge the reasons for the British Company emerging supreme from the contest. This company laid the foundations for the control and administration of India by Great Britain. The roots and causes of the incorporation of India in the British Empire are to be found in the history of the British East India Company.

The Dutch Colonials

In the seventeenth century the maritime power of the Dutch was paramount in the world. They were the first to break through the Portuguese monopoly in the East, sailing around the Cape of Good Hope and establishing their control over Sumatra and Bantam (Java) in 1596. A little later they discovered Australia and also founded the city of New Amsterdam, now New York, in America. In 1619 they laid the foundations of the city of Batavia, making it the seat of government of their possessions in the Eastern archipelago.

In 1623 the Dutch massacred some rival English traders at Amboyna, a Javanese city. The atrocious murder of these Englishmen, not in open fight, but by cruel torture following capture, had far-reaching effects, for this perpetration so rankled in the hearts of the British that* thereafter they and the Dutch were the most bitter rivals in the Far East, the English traders often aligning themselves with the French even when the reverse condition existed in Europe. This massacre also forced the British to centre their efforts on the mainland of India where the Dutch factories never became of primary importance.

In 1635 the Dutch occupied Formosa; in 1640 they took Malacca from the Portuguese; in 1651 they founded a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, thus establishing the Boer settlements. In 1652 they invaded the Indian mainland and built a trading station on the Madras coast; in 1658 they captured the last stronghold of the Portuguese in Ceylon. They also wrested from the Portuguese their settlements on the pepper-bearing coast of Malabar (India) and at St. Thome and Macassar. In 1660 the Dutch lost New Amsterdam to the English who renamed it New York, and long naval war and bloody battles between the English and Dutch throughout the world were not terminated until William of Orange united the two countries in 1689.

*Thirty-one years later Cromwell insisted upon exacting an indemnity from Holland for the families of the murdered traders.

The Dutch colonial empire in the Far East continued until Clive, in 1758, sounded the knell of their efforts for supremacy on the Indian mainland by forcing their colonies to capitulate. During the French wars from 1793 to 1815, England took the Dutch colonies of the Spice Islands, keeping Ceylon, but restoring Java in 1816 to Holland, and exchanging Sumatra in 1824 for Malacca.

The fall of The Netherlands' empire in the East largely resulted from a short-sighted commercial policy. Dutch dominion was deliberately based upon a stringent monopoly of the trade in spices. In the islands the Hollanders made no attempt to introduce the benefits of their civilization among the natives. In Europe they stimulated efforts of other countries to send traders of their own to the East because of the exorbitant prices the Dutch demanded for oriental products. In Europe, and the trading posts of the East, they instigated bitter hatred of their rival merchants by acts of cruelty that were beyond the rules of even seventeenth-century warfare.

To-day the only evident reminders that the Dutch once ruled supreme in this part of the world are ancient houses with Dutch tiles, and Dutch furniture of carved oak, which are to be seen in some of the towns of Ceylon and in several small ports of the Coromandel and Malabar coasts of India. A few canals and water channels in some of the old settlements bear further witness of their former dominion. But not one inch of ground on the subcontinent of India or the island of Ceylon belongs to the Netherlands to-day.

OTHER EUROPEAN CONQUESTS

The French sent five trading companies to India between 1604 and 1644, chartering a sixth in 1719. Their most important settlement was made in 1674 at Pondicherri, about 100 miles south of Madras.

For many years the English and French traded side by side with comparatively peaceful rivalry. This was a unique condition indeed, for in Europe the French were bitterly opposed to the allied English and Dutch, while in the East the French and

English maintained a friendly truce while both warred against the Dutch. When war did begin between Madras and Pondicherri, it waged with unwavering intensity until Clive established paramount supremacy in 1757. We shall follow the fortunes of the French together with those of the English.

Danish companies for Eastern trading were formed in 1612 and 1670. The English purchased their Indian settlements in 1845.

Charles VI, Emperor of Austria, incorporated a company in 1723, its traders being principally men who had served the Dutch and English companies and transferred because of the lure of higher wages. This company became bankrupt in 1784 in spite of the ardent desire of Austria to participate in Indian commerce.

Sweden and Prussia each financed companies for maritime trade to India but none of the attempts was successful.

The English Enter the Lists

All of these companies were royal monopolies, or their conquests were fostered by their governments, and settlements were made in the name of their sovereigns or states. They were all national exploits. The first private company was that of the English East India Company, incorporated in 1600 and chartered by Queen Elizabeth.

The English had been stimulated to action by the discovery of America and the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, but their efforts had been directed to the north. The names of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson and Baffin on our maps are indelible memorials of their distressing and disastrous attempts to penetrate the Arctic which followed the unsuccessful efforts of the Cabots. In 1577 Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the world, stopping at one of the Moluccas (East Indies) where the king of the island agreed to supply the British with all the cloves his domain produced. In 1579 Thomas Stephens, a Jesuit Father, travelled to India, the first Englishman to settle there. In 1583 three British merchants journeyed overland with varying fortunes. They were thrown into prison in Goa by the jealous Portuguese, but all three escaped. One vanished, one entered Akbar's service, and one, Ralph Fitch, returned to London after a visit to Agra and later assisted in the founding of a company of 125 individual subscribers which obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth for "The Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies." This was one of several stock enterprises which were later to be incorporated in one firm, familiarly called the "John Company."

After defeating the "Invincible Armada" in 1588, the British were released from strenuous efforts of war with Spain and Portugal and ready to finance, foster and participate in colonial enterprise. The energetic merchants therefore found a co-operative public for their Eastern plans. In 1599 the Dutch almost trebled the price of pepper and the merchants of London held a meeting of indignation. This was the immediate cause of the successful founding of the East India Company with the assistance of Queen Elizabeth, who sent an ambassador by Constantinople overland to Akbar's court to seek trading privileges for this company. Her representative arrived not long before the death of Akbar in the midst of his great distress concerning his son's treachery. Akbar granted Queen Elizabeth's request, but it had little material value for he died before the English company could benefit.

Before Captain John Smith set sail on his second trip to America, which culminated in his settling at Jamestown, the first ships of the British had penetrated the Eastern seas and established a factory at Bantam, Java, in 1602. During the following years the British traders took many cargoes of pepper and rich spices back to England, carrying on their business in spite of bitter opposition and continuous fighting with the Portuguese and Dutch on land and sea. In 1611 Sir Henry Middleton resolutely took on board a cargo at Cambay, on the Gujarat coast of India, in the teeth of Portuguese combat. In 1615 Captain Best four times beat back an overwhelming force of Portuguese ships off the Bombay coast. This victory impressed the natives with great respect for English bravery, and stories of their courage were carried to the Court of the Emperor Jahangir, who accordingly consented to receive Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from James I, when he arrived at Agra that same year in quest of favorable concessions for English trade.

Jahangir, who irresolutely shifted from favor of the Portuguese to that of the English, was no stranger to the British, for in 1609 Captain William Hawkins, nephew of the famous Sir John Hawkins who had taken part in the defeating of the Armada, had arrived at Agra where he lived for three years. This bluff sailor, who spoke Turkish, the language close to the heart of all the Moghuls (as it had been Babur's tongue) although Persian was the Court language, found favor in the eyes of Jahangir and became known as the "Inglis Khan," and joined in the court functions and private amusements of his royal patron. But Hawkins had not possessed the diplomacy to win any real concessions from the vacillating Jahangir who was uninterested in any part of the world save India. The successful fighting on Indian shores by the British under Captain Best was quite a different matter, and Sir Thomas Roe was received with attention. He became the first formal ambassador of England and the first representative of any European court to India.

From the diaries of Sir Thomas and those of his Chaplain, Edward Terry, we learn much of the life of the Moghuls. Roe was not impressed by the Court, commenting that the audience chamber, the noted Dewan-a Khas, "was rich but so diverse pieces and so unsuitable that it was rather patched than glorious as if it seemed to strive to show all like a lady who, with her plate, set on a cupboard her embroidered slippers." The Emperor's drinking parties disgusted him; the nautch girls shocked him; but he partially succeeded in his mission.

After the massacre by the Dutch at Amboyna, the English concentrated on their agencies at Surat and Cambay, which they had held following the Portuguese defeat by Captain Best, and in 1632 they established a factory on the southeast coast. The southern part of the peninsula offered little lucrative trade, so the English ventured north on the east coast into Bengal. All these trading stations were so hampered by exactions of the local rulers, and so victimized by the shifting allegiances of the Moghul armies, that Mr. Francis Day, of the East India Company, decided the safest measure was to buy a stronghold in the poverty-stricken peninsula where a fort could be erected from which trading parties could sally forth at opportune and peaceful times. He accordingly concluded arrangements for purchasing a strip of land about a mile broad and four miles long on the unpromising southeastern coast. The Hindu Raja was no philanthropist, for he insisted upon and obtained a rental of £600 ($3,000) a year for the small grant with no harbor but a good anchorage for small ships. On this desolate tract of land, protected from envious Moghuls, Moslems, Hindus and rival European traders, Francis Day and his company built in 1639 the fort which to-day gives official designation to the Presidency of Fort George, usually called Madras, the largest political division of British India of which the city of Madras is capital. This was the first territorial possession of the Company, the Plymouth Rock of English colonization in India.

Bombay, on the western coast, was a swampy pestilent island, eleven miles long and three to four miles wide, which was ceded to England in 1661 as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza of Portugal, on the occasion of her marriage to Charles II of England, who leased it in 1668 to the East India Company at an annual rental of £10! One of the terms of the transfer was that the English should support the Portuguese in India against the Dutch who were then rapidly supplanting them in the East.

In the eventful years between its founding and 1688, Madras, or Fort St. George, had so grown in population that James II granted a charter to the city constituting it the "Town of Fort St. George and all the Territories thereunto belonging, not exceeding the distance of ten miles from Fort St. George, to be a corporation by the name and title of the Mayor, Alderman, and Burgesses of the Town of Fort St. George and City of Madrassapatam."

We approach this city with particular interest for we learn that its first Governor was our own Elihu Yale, who later founded Yale University in Connecticut. Subsequent Governors of Madras or Bengal during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of special interest to us were the grandfather of William Pitt, who afterwards so eloquently defended in Parliament the taxation policies of the American colonies; Colonel, later Lord, Clive, the hero of every schoolboy reader of Henty; and Lord Cornwallis who went to India five years after his surrender at Yorktown, and died soon after his second appointment as Governor-General of the British Colonies in Bengal. This soldier, whose misfortune it was to command the force which was compelled to surrender at Yorktown, was sent out, by singular caprice of circumstances, to do splendid work for England on the opposite side of the world in contemporary English colonies.

An Indian Plymouth Rock

Leaving the rugged heights of the mountains, we travel for miles across a flat, desolate plain. Even the low range of tawny hills, which for a time break the straight edge of the horizon on the right, fade into an endless level of stretches of jaundiced soil. The monotony of the interminably prostrate earth hypnotizes and holds our eyes despite the brassy glare. The relentless sun converts our compartment into an oven in spite of the whirring fans and sweep of windows, and this is the winter season! How on earth did the Europeans survive, much less trade and fight! The lethargic tillers of the soil stolidly guide the oxen as the primitive wooden plows cut through the sallow soil. Women work in the cotton fields while naked children tend the water buffaloes that nibble the parched undergrowths. We can see no sign of fodder where the cattle are tethered and wonder upon what they manage to subsist. We are grateful when the green and yellow of rice and millet fields spread their welcome color over the monotonous earth. The land appears rich enough when irrigated, but where the hand of man leaves off, the soil seems sterile and discouraged.

The numerous negroid features and black skins of the cultivators are striking reminders that we are in non-Aryan India, land of the placid Tamils and the oppressed "Untouchables."

The intensity of the heat is ardent reminder that we are traversing a country parallel in latitude to Nicaragua. The city we are approaching is the largest in the world of such proximity to the equator.

We alight in a huge modern station and drive along wide boulevards bordered by fine public buildings of English architecture, to our hotel. In the middle of the day we rest in our darkened rooms but when the sun drops into the Bay of Bengal, leaving the city a little cooler because of its fading ardor, we emerge to motor through broad avenues of this scattered metropolis which extends along the coast for over six miles and inland from four to five miles.

En route to Fort St. George we drive along the Marina, a fine broad boulevard which skirts the coast of sandy beach for three miles, and stop for a brief visit at the magnificent but artificial harbor, "a challenge flaunted in the face of nature." Madras lies in the path of cyclones, and many violent storms sweep in destroying force over the surrounding country, formerly smashing to a pulp the vessels and ships even within the arm of the harbor; but now the vast structures of breakwaters that extend all of 3,000 feet into the Bay, enclosing 200 acres of dredged shelters for vessels, protect the mercantile fleet from the fury of the monsoon. King Edward in 1875, while Prince of Wales, laid the foundation stone for the modern structures of this magnificent feat of engineering. As our eyes sweep over the innumerable tugs, merchant craft and ocean liners that lie within the various basins, quayed and craned for fleets of every tonnage, and the great modern offices that range along the western piers that handle exports of great value every year, mainly of ground nuts and oil seeds of which 345,221 tons were shipped in 1928, as well as raw hides and skins, manures and onions, and imports of coal and oil, sugar and timbers, we recall a description of this site, written in the seventeenth century: "It has nothing apparently to commend it.

It is devoid of scenery and has no harbor, although there is an anchorage in the roads. It is nothing but a dreary waste of sand, on which a monstrous sea breaks in a double line of surf, giving it an inhospitable look, which it retains to this day. The evil-smelling river protects it from intruders." What transformation the Western mind has wrought!

Nearby stands Fort St. George, mausoleum of glorious deeds of the stirring days of Clive, and present barricade of English strength. How many thousands of envious eyes have glowered upon those fortressed walls! How many thousands of covetous hopes have focused on those bastioned heights! We enter the great gates of the stern walls, halted by such a sentry as has stood guard on that very spot for almost three hundred years. The tramp of bright-faced, ruddy-cheeked, Scottish lads at drill reminds us that this old Fort has resounded to the steps of just such lads since Boston first sent colonizers into Connecticut, before William Penn left England to build his "City of Brotherly Love." We pass the European barracks, the arsenal, the military and government offices. The pallor of the faces beneath the broad topis of the changing guard makes us wonder how long the glowing cheeks of the youths freshly "out from home" will endure before the pitiless sun bleaches and drinks their ruddy blood.

We stop before Saint Mary's Church and enter the portals of the first Church of England erected in Asia. The colors of the blood-stained banners of the Royal Fusiliers, carried so valiantly at Cawnpore and Lucknow during the mutiny, droop within the arches of the chapel. Before the altar, where rests the alms dish given by Elihu Yale, the intrepid Clive was married. What memories these old walls hold! What fear and terror of the attacking hordes filled the staunch hearts of those gallant pioneers as they knelt in prayer in this House of God. Reverence fills our hearts for those courageous souls, blood of our blood, creed of our creed, race of our race. Blazers of the English path, brothers of our pilgrim fathers, we salute you!

Leaving the shadowy church, we walk about the Fort whose ramparts have withstood onset after onset of numerous Hindu and Moslem powers whose kingdoms surrounded Madras in a fanlike crescent. Many local chieftains in semi-independent possession of citadels or hill-forts also often attacked the little Fort pressed close against the Sea. These walls about us withstood all onslaughts of the tribes and armies.

"Why did the Indian powers desire to take the Fort?" we question the English sergeant who is kindly conducting us.

"The old John Company had great stores of gold here," replied our "Tommy Atkins." "Everything we bought we paid for in gold. That was why we got the trade. The other posts didn't have the bullion we did. You should see the Indians 'light up' to this day when they see the gold a-rolling!"

"It's a wonder some contingent didn't succeed in taking this little Fort."

"Well, ma'am, we always managed to hold out against the natives, but one time the French fooled us and where you see the Union Jack a-flying, the Frenchies ran up theirs. But we took her back," he proudly added.

THE FEUDS WITH THE FRENCH

Before dinner we open our histories and learn that for many years Madras and her most formidable competitor, the French trading post at Pondicherri about 100 miles to the south, carried on their business in peaceful rivalry and without territorial aggression. Their militant operations were entirely against their respective native enemies.

On the death of the last Moghul emperor, Aurangzeb, in in 1707, all India was a seething mass of warring peoples. The empire, that had disintegrated from the time the iron hand of Akbar had loosened its grasp, that had been bled and drained for the magnificent courts of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, that had been splintered into fragments under the fanatic but futile reign of Aurangzeb, was a disorganized mass of jealous and contentious states. The conquerors and the conquered were so weakened by their constant warring that one was little stronger than the other. Aurangzeb lived to the great age of eighty-nine. He was too old and too feeble to quell the disorders within his realms. His sons were as rebellious as those of the other Moghuls, but they did not possess the ability or the vigor to take over the government. Debility, decay, dissolution were prevalent throughout the land. There was no effective authority in the whole sub-continent.

With local authority grew local ambition and local oppression. The various states had been stripped of their assets for the pleasures and plans of the emperors. To remedy their financial distress, every city, every community, was considered fair prey. The European posts harbored gold. So the armies of the local potentates and the bands of guerillas covetously attacked the forts and the ships which the merchants sailed up the rivers and along the coasts in pursuit of trade. Many of the traders were seized and held for ransom in much the same manner as the Chinese are to-day holding and torturing missionaries in order to extract gold from the European powers. The trading posts were too far from home to receive help from their mother countries. Their treaties of protection with the Delhi sovereigns were useless, as these rulers could not protect their own dominions.

Local territorial power became imperative in order that the companies might go on existing. After anxious discussion and perilous experience the English traders determined on securing their trade by assuming jurisdiction over local potentates. There was no other method by which they could effectively be independent of the capricious granting of privileges or the arbitrary exactions of various rulers who suddenly rose to supremacy and often as suddenly were suppressed. Only by political power could the traders be strong enough to defend themselves from the guerilla feuds and sporadic insurrections that surged constantly over the land, and be potent enough to protect their traffic of commerce up the rivers and along the coasts. In defense, and not offense, they adopted the expedient of exacting tribute and revenue from the attacking natives whom they defeated. With their superior methods and weapons of war, this mere handful of Englishmen began to build the territorial suzerainty that finally was to expand into a subject dominion of Great Britain.

The French at Pondicherri were having the same difficulties, but they were avowedly attempting to found an empire backed by the help of France. They did not clash with the English until, during the welter of Indian battles, war was declared in Europe between England and France. As soon as the mother countries opened hostilities, war burst into flame between their colonials in India and America. The French and Indian wars in America, otherwise called Queen Anne's War, King William's War, *et cetera*, had their duplicates in India. The traders at Madras and at Pondicherri who had not previously troubled each other in their particular perils, now began fighting after securing alliances of Hindu and Moslem chieftains, who backed their favorites just as the various American Indian tribes supported either the English or French settlers in the western hemisphere.

Following the declaration of war, an English squadron appeared off the Coromandel coast. Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherri and a shrewd diplomat, hastened to the Nawab of Arcot, a powerful Prince of Southern India, and, following the presentation of a judicious gift, persuaded the Nawab to interpose and prevent hostilities between the two trading posts. But three years later, in 1746, when a French squadron put in its appearance, Dupleix immediately and suddenly attacked Madras, which surrendered without a blow. This was the occasion to which our "Tommy Atkins" referred.

Clive, who was then a young government clerk in Madras, together with a few others escaped to a small factory south even of Pondicherri, the sole remaining foothold of the British on the east coast of India. There this small party of Englishmen held out until two years later an English fleet came to their rescue and began the siege of Pondicherri. During the hostilities the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed, and one of its stipulations was the return of Madras to the English.

The easy capture of Madras had fired Dupleix with renewed ambition to found a French empire in India such as his compatriots had achieved in Canada. Disputed successions among the reigning families of the kingdoms both at Hyderabad and Arcot gave him his opportunity. On both thrones Dupleix placed kings of his own selection and for a time he was indeed the power behind the thrones.

In boldness of conception and in knowledge of oriental diplomacy, Dupleix had no equal, but he was no soldier. In Madras Clive had risen to power and, learning fast from Dupleix' maneuvers, he backed the cause of another candidate to the throne of Arcot. In the ensuing battles Clive captured Arcot and successfully held it against Dupleix and his Arcot forces.

The heroic feat of the capture and subsequent defense of Arcot by Clive in 1751, even more than the decisive battle of Plassey six years later, spread the fame of English valor throughout India.

For the next few years, both in America and in India, war between the colonies kept up fitfully, a period of expansion enduring on both continents. In India the English influence continued to predominate on the Madras coast and their ally, Mohammed Ali, maintained his position at Arcot, while inland the French were supreme in southern India.

In 1756 the Nawab of lower Bengal, while in pursuit of one of his own family who had escaped from his vengeance, marched upon Calcutta where the English had established a trading post on the Hooghly River, a branch of the Ganges over 1,000 miles north of Madras. Many of the English escaped down the river in ships. The remainder surrendered after some resistance and were thrust into the "Black Hole," or military jail of Fort William. There was only a small garrison at Calcutta, so the room of the jail was only eighteen feet square with only two small windows barred with iron. In this cell, on June 20, 1756, the Indians forced 146 white prisoners, of whom eleven were women. The next morning only twenty-three of the 146 remained alive. In Calcutta we shall see the steel plate which covers the location of this atrocity and commemorates the memory of these poor victims.

When the news of this disaster reached Clive, he, and a squadron of English ships which fortunately was at Madras, sailed for the mouth of the Ganges with all the troops he could muster and recovered Calcutta.

After a semi-peaceful interval, fresh hostilities arose between England and France and war was declared anew. Clive captured the French trading post on the Hooghly, the same Nawab of Bengal siding with the French. Clive, acting upon the policy he had learned from Dupleix, provided himself with a rival candidate to the Nawab's throne. Undaunted in the face of overwhelming odds, Clive marched out to the grove of Plassey, about seventy miles north of Calcutta, at the head of 1,000 English and 2,000 sepoys (native troops), with eight pieces of artillery. The Nawab's army numbered 35,000 foot and 15,000 horse with 50 cannon. The Nawab attacked with his whole artillery at 6 A.M., but Clive kept his men under shelter "lodged in a large grove, surrounded by mud banks." At noon the enemy drew off into their entrenched camp for dinner. The Nawab never dreamed the English would attack at all, much less in the deadly heat of a tropical mid-day, but Clive hurled his men forward, captured the outposts and stormed the camp. The Nawab escaped on a camel, many of his troops fled in panic and Clive won a great victory.

This battle of Plassey was fought on June 23, 1757, the anniversary of which was vividly recalled when the Indian mutiny was at its height exactly 100 years later. History has agreed to adopt the victory at Plassey as the real beginning of the British Empire in the East.

Two years later Wolf defeated Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham. With the surrender of Quebec the death knell of French power in America was sounded. In 1760 Montreal and all Canada surrendered to England. Simultaneously Clive's army defeated Lally, the French general, and from that date the French in India never were a threatening power, and England was supreme. Thus the contemporary history of America and India continued.

During the period betweeen 1760 and 1817 Pondicherri changed hands repeatedly. In 1802, when the city was French, Napoleon Bonaparte, who regarded the Indian territory as most valuable, sent thither 8 generals, 1,400 regulars, a bodyguard of 80 horses and $500,000 in specie with a view to extensive operations. His hopes were put to an end when the British retook Pondicherri in 1803. So, strangely, Napoleon lost his holdings in India the same year that he sold his Louisiana territory in America to the United States for $3,000,000.

Since 1817 Pondicherri has been continuously French and to-day it is the capital of the various small French footholds in India. France now owns five different Indian settlements with a total area of 200 square miles and a population of approximately 300,000.

For the one hundred years following Clive's valiant success at Plassey, the English East India Company was organizer, protector and leader of the Indian peoples. The history of the Company's activities was thereafter almost synonymous with that of India's political history.

CHAPTER VI

WHAT GIFTS ARE INDIA'S?

An American's Judgment

"INDIA, although the second largest aggregate of peoples on the earth, has never contributed a science, a religion, a philosophy, an art, or even an invention to the growth of the world beyond her frontiers, with the exception of Buddhism, which is repressed within her own borders."

"What an indictment of almost four hundred million people of to-day, much less the millions upon millions of their ancestors!"

"It is worse than an indictment. History makes it a conviction," replies the American missionary.

We have motored out to the suburban cottage of this eminent scholar who has devoted twenty-four years of his life to teaching and preaching in Madras. The journey has been pleasant in spite of the heat of the morning as the driveway along the Adyar River is overhung by mighty banyan trees which form a tunnel of refreshing coolness.

"But the Hindus continually boast that they had developed a high type of culture and philosophy while we Nordic peoples were still savages. What is that culture, and what is that philosophy?"

The missionary regards us with a twinkle in his merry eyes. "I've been searching for twenty-four years and I haven't found out yet! As a matter of fact, in many ways, after they moved into India, the Aryans lost some of the culture which they had learned in central Asia while dwelling in the common grazing grounds where all the Aryan peoples once lived. They relinquished customs that gave them physical and mental stamina: they ceased the eating of beef, they condemned as sordid and degrading the tilling of the soil, and adopted carnal gods and those of fear and terror of the Aborigines in preference to their friendly gods of light. After the Brahmans withdrew into a class of moral leaders, they developed the caste system and the metaphysics and pantheon of gods that combine to make Hinduism. Caste is a system of organized slavery which is peculiar to India. It requires child-marriage, 'suttee,' segregation and disassociation of mankind. It is the social and political contribution of the Hindu peoples to society at large. It has been rejected and condemned by all civilizations outside of India."

"But their metaphysics are ethically high, are they not?"

"Only in part, for a great portion are dependent on magic rituals and blood sacrifices of animals and human beings to their idols. Their theories of karma and transmigration of souls are dominant convictions. Belief in these doctrines is deeply ingrained in all sects and ranks of Hinduism although the Rig-Veda contains no traces of such concepts. It is surmised by such eminent students and authorities as Professor Macdonell* that the Aryan settlers received the first impulse toward these creeds from the aboriginal inhabitants of India. As Sir Herbert Risley points out in his treatise, "Peoples of India," in many districts where belief in witchcraft is prevalent, there exists abundance of evidence that there is widespread conviction among savage peoples not only that the souls of the dead may pass into animals and trees, but that living people may undergo a similar temporary transformation.

"Let me read you a passage from Sir Herbert's book, for he was a deep and wise scholar of Hindu life."

Taking down a volume from the crowded shelves of his library the American continues: "On page 238 Sir Herbert observes:

> "But if they borrowed transmigration from the Dravidian inhabitants of India, the Indo-Aryans lent to it a moral significance of which no trace is to be found among the animists. They supplemented the idea of transmigration by the theory of self-acting retribution which is known as karma. According to this doctrine every

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*"The History of Sanskrit Literature," by Professor A. A. Macdonell, page 115.

action, good or evil, that a man does in the course of his life, is forthwith automatically recorded for or against him, as the case may be. There is no repentance, no forgiveness of sins, no absolution. Because it is therefore contrary to our religion which teaches a loving god who forgives our trespasses if we repent, the doctrines which are the highest and purest of Indian ethics have been rejected by Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedism."

"Of course popular Hinduism is as degrading and debased as the phallic rites and worship of Baal which so deeply shocked the Jews in olden days."

"The first impression of the moral tone of karma and transmigration does vanish in the light of these facts," I interpose. "Don't these beliefs assist in tightening the bonds of caste?"

"Most emphatically," replies the missionary. "The whole caste system, with its endless gradation of rank, is in complete accord with the doctrines of transmigration. Every Hindu believes that he is born to an immutable karma, and an equally immutable caste."

"Do you think it is possible that caste is relaxing its enslavement of the Hindus?" asks my companion.

"Only in instances that are so rare that not 1 per cent of the people have been affected. Moderations are still more miracles than natural mitigations. Caste is the foundation and the fabric of the entire social life of the Hindus. Its cohesive power is so instinctive that its force is like to such a vital element as gravitation or molecular attraction. The British have brought legal freedom to the people, and educational and financial opportunities, but in the homes and hearts of the Hindus the same laws prevail that existed when Alexander the Great invaded the country. Their instinct is static. They see no virtue in progress. I still hope that our Christian teachings will enlighten their minds and raise their principles, but the caste instinct is so strong that even the 'Untouchables' we convert retain their caste divisions. Sect is weaker than caste, and race dominates religion. Hinduism as a creed is exceedingly elastic, but as a social organization it is adamantine. So long as a Hindu follows the stringent laws of caste as to marriage, social association and food, he may worship any one or a great number of a very diverse pantheon, that is, as long as he continues to venerate the cow and symbols of Vishnu and Siva."

"Then you do not believe that the English found a gifted people?"

"I do not. I know that they found a people who were, and are, the slaves of Brahmanism and its products of caste and idolatry: a people immersed for ages in meditation on their endless chain of theories of periodicity while their fellow Asiatics, the Chinese, were contributing four great gifts to mankind: paper, printing, gunpowder and the compass; and the Arabs were transporting this knowledge to Europe: a people who continued sunk in thought except when emerging only to fight the Moslems or any efforts to progress their culture. Their opposition to constructive forces has always been destructive and deadening to advancement. The poem

> The East bowed low before the blast
> In patient, deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> And plunged in thought again.

epitomizes Indian history."

"Then India is like an octopus that has sucked into its vitals streams of peoples from every direction and has never repaid to the world with a single compensation of digested thought," I deplore.

"That seems a harsh judgement, but it is a true charge. The Hindus have absorbed the cultures of other nations and have never evolved a constructive culture in return. Their minds are fluid and elastic, but not creative. Their inability to grasp the realities of life is often falsely labelled spirituality. Their failure to apply themselves to creative factors is seldom preponderance of spirituality—it is usually lack of constructive mentality."

"I have earnestly tried to obtain an understanding of the statements of so many Indians who claim a deep and wise civilization of ancient standing, but, so far, my personal research concerning the avowals they make disprove their claims. When I place these facts before them they inevitably display indifference. The usual comment is: 'What is true, and what is untrue? Right and wrong are only relative!' When I have attempted to pin them down, they have, without exception, made some elusive remark on the grossness of the Western mind which is only concerned with the material! Yet they have made declarations which have decidedly dealt with material mis-statements. Surely all Indians aren't liars. What is the cause of such insistent errors?"

"Their standards are not ours. They see no harm in making false remarks. If they do not want a thing to exist, they determine it doesn't, and inversely. In fact, they find it impossible to separate the real from the unreal. Facts which are evidence in front of our eyes are as hypothetical to them as theories. My idea of a phenomenal accomplishment is a logical statement of fact carried to a definite termination by an Indian dialectic. This mixture of realness and unrealness is an inseparable equipment of the Indian mind. It's a difficult task to account for this reasoning, or lack of it, of an entire people, but I think it is best explained by their theories of maya."

"What is maya?"

"Maya is a name for the world of experience, for everything that is conditioned by space and casuality, for what we are and what we see. Now their translation of this word is typical of their translation of the meaning of life, for Indians say that maya means illusion. In other words, life is illusion. Of course all idealistic creeds strive to rise above the material things of life to the spiritual. Indian metaphysics go even further. They say there is no material, that only the spiritual exists, that the individual is God—not a personal God, but the incomprehensible God of Absolutism—that which is without qualities and attributes, what they call 'Brahman which is One without a second,' that which is both being and non-being."

"That's the most absurd theory I've ever heard. How can there be a oneness of being and non-being?"

"The answers that the Pundits (learned Hindus) give are many and diverse. I could fill a book with the explanations I've heard myself. The simplest one has to do with a mirage. One Hindu monist said to me: 'You've seen a shimmering mirage—so it must have existed even if only in the lens of your eye. But when you knew the mirage didn't exist, it was destroyed by your knowledge. All the time the desert was unaffected by the mirage or its destruction. Brahman, the Absolute, is the desert. Maya is the mirage. Brahman is as unaffected by maya as the desert was by the mirage. Yet you, who are Brahman, destroyed the mirage by knowledge which also is Brahman which is One without a second. The mirage had existence. Maya has existence. Yet neither does exist, so both are both being and non-being."

"So many words that jump together into one acrostic! How can they apply? If man is a definite part of the unconditional Absolute, how can he ever step away from consciousness of his absolutism? If man is God, how can he separate himself from God, even in his mind, at any time?"

"I can't answer you. I've tenaciously clung to the statement that their theory of absolutism contradicts itself for, as you say, how can there be limitation of the Absolute? Some Pundits make your brain play leap-frog with such replies as the example of the mirage but most of them offer you a cataract of words that are palpably fantastic in meaning. These metaphysics are expounded by a comparatively infinitesimal portion of the Hindus who believe that life is illusion and the only way to conquer it is to forget it. The theories haven't been taught by the Brahmans to the peoples so much as the Brahmans have evolved a series of metaphysical theories to account for an instinctive quality of Hindu nature. The most illiterate souls believe that it is impossible to form a conception of God, and that therefore He isn't a subject, and since He isn't a subject He can't be an object for aspiration. With no subject or object, the only thing left is nothing—which is God. This conception is an elementary quality of the Hindu soul."

"Then as long as the Hindus believe in maya, they can't progress, and as maya is a basic and irrevocable characteristic, progress, according to our standards, is forever impossible!"

"No, my friends. The Light of God's blessing will some day give them sight. That is why I am here. Both spiritual and economic needs demand the renunciation of maya, for it is one of the main strangleholds on the Indian mind. It explains much concerning the inability of the Indian intelligence to understand or apply constructive thought; in other words, the lack of evolution of their spirits and minds. It explains much concerning the peculiar inadequacies of educated individuals like Mr. Gandhi."

"Aren't there any Indian leaders who are striving to remedy India's stagnation?"

"None who would satisfy our standards. One great reformer, Ram Mohun Roy, lived in Bengal a century ago. If ever there was a Christ-like Hindu it was he. He fought to free himself and those about him from the fetters of orthodox Hinduism and was the originator of the movement that was to develop into the Brahmo Samaj. He did his utmost to synthesize all that was best in the thought and practice of East and West. In 1843, ten years after Ram Mohun Roy's death, Debendre Nath Tagore, father of Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, gave impetus to the movement. Tagore had an intensely spiritual character and under his leadership the society expanded. Keshub Chandra Sen, a man of commanding intellect, joined the movement in 1857. Sen was fired with a missionary zeal to spread not only knowledge but social reform. He wanted to do away with child-marriage and similar Hindu institutions. These views were too radical for the conservative Tagore, so they separated. Sen went to England, where he met many of the intellectual giants of the day—Dean Stanley, Max Mueller, John Stuart Mill and Gladstone—and he saw women taking an active and prominent part in everyday life. He went back to India with renewed determination to free his people from orthodox Hinduism. In 1872 he succeeded in having an Act passed which legalized Brahmo marriages, abolished infant marriages, made polygamy a penal offense and sanctioned widow and inter-caste marriages. This courageous achievement alienated his group of reformers from their orthodox brothers, but Sen never wavered. He founded a church known as the New Dispensation which is practically non-existent to-day, and Debendra Nath Tagore organized the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj which appeals to the educated classes, and more especially to the Bengalis. It never has been a popular movement, and according to the last census there were only 6,000 odd members. These three men were true reformers. Their ambitions were idealistic, but their work of little permanence, and no one had arisen to fill their places."

I broodily ponder on his words, before declaring:

"I am so earnestly trying to find the truth about conditions, past and present, between English and Hindus. Many Indians are appealing to our people at home to aid them in shaking off the 'yoke' of English government. India is such an alien country and we have so few means to assist us in judging whether these supplicants are representatives of the people or partisan politicians. Before we take any stand we certainly should know whether Great Britain is hampering or helping India as a whole, in justice to both Indians and English, as well as to ourselves. All my evidence so far is entirely in favor of English benefit and promotion of freedom to the Indian peoples. Am I overlooking some factor? Surely there are two sides to every question!"

"On the whole, I believe the British are doing an admirable job. There have been instances of personal selfishness or personal avariciousness of course, but the percentage of exploitation has been of no moment in the scale of British betterment of social conditions in India. Remember that these people have been bred for generations to accept and promote the most oppressive and cruel system of atrocious slavedom that has ever existed since the earth was formed. They are like children in many ways. They use words like toys, and charges like tools. They can't comprehend democracy, as is the case with children, even though they benefit by it."

"How do you account for the misapprehension of sincere Indians who are the products of English colleges and who yet speak of their 'superior' civilization?" inquires my companion, breaking her thoughtful silence.

"Much of this misunderstanding comes from their prideful interpretations of records or selections from chronicles in the English language. These interpretations are the results of their fluid grasp of words and their lack of inductive comprehension of the meaning of those words in their entirety. Take Vedic literature, for instance, which has been the subject of much research for many years. As you know, the Brahmans were originally the members of the Aryan tribes who were more and more frequently chosen to conduct the rites and sacrifices until they gave up the pursuits of war and agriculture and devoted themselves entirely to civil and religious administration. They wrote hymns of invocation, addressed to their gods, and recorded them in crude Sanskrit, sections of which are now impossible of translation by even the most learned of Indian and European Sanskrit scholars.

"As the Brahmans grew in power, they attributed these hymns to divine origin, proclaiming the psalms to have been revealed to them by the gods. Glorifying themselves by declaring they were the receivers of the divine messages and laws, they formed themselves into a division or caste, defining and separating the rest of Aryan and non-Aryan peoples according to various grades of rank. They ordained themselves priests by right of blood, and became the only deans of any religion in the world who transferred the privilege of their rank by blood and not according to calling or spiritual gifts. Succeeding Brahmans added to the Vedic literature and, with the growth of knowledge, the new hymns and laws expressed the growth of grammar and vocabulary. As the source of their pride and power, the Brahmans kept their records unchanged, and since the peoples at large held neither the right nor the ability to read, the Scriptures of this esoteric religion were not translated or revised as in the case of the Bible of the exoteric religions of the Jews and Christians who were privileged to read and transpose their sacred scriptures.

"Imagine a vast country of conquerors and despised conquered, governed by a political clique whose members inherited by right of blood the sole authority to be the priests and the politicians, to evoke, interpret, administer and enforce all the religious and civil laws of the entire population, none of whom could read or write, and you can perhaps obtain a faint idea of how jealously the Brahmans guarded the ancient records which were their pride, as the symbols of their inheritance, and their strength, as the vehicles of their power.

"When the English brought their government to India they encountered the stories and the statutes of the Vedas. Desiring to interfere as little as possible in the religious and civil life of the Indians, the English studied the Vedas. Their philologists were delighted to find incorporated in a mass of data, no longer than the Iliad and the Odyssey combined, records that had been unchanged since the beginnings of written language, and other documents composed consecutively over a period of possibly three thousand years.

"In Europe a beneficent democracy had caused the scattering and distributing of knowledge so that the material which was considered worthy of preservation was translated into language that all could absorb. Thus over great areas, in diverse tongues, the products of many minds were dispersed, incorporated and revised, making the tracing of the evolution of words a complicated task. The growth of tenets and aspirations was so widespread that it was not possible for a concrete and condensed compilation of their spiritual and mental development to be conserved.

"In India the greedy autocracy of the Brahmans, who had centred in one small group the privileges of learning, had perpetuated the laws without growth or evolution during three thousand years and had preserved their expression in early Sanskrit. Thus the originators of the Vedas, who had tyranically repressed the mental and spiritual development of the Indian peoples, unwittingly contributed a gift to the research of philologists."

"It is rather ironic that the unprogressive state of Indian civilization should result in the furthering of modern research," my companion remarks.

"It is indeed, and the Brahmans resented it. But this application of the European mind has centred the attention of the Brahmans on their own literature and perhaps it will fructify in some expansion of Brahmanic thought. However, at present they continue to declare the records are sacred and the revelations divine, and far too profound for translation to the masses. They continue to further an esoteric culture. But of course the European scholars saw no religious sanctity of text. In fact, the parts of the sacred Rig-Veda that yielded interpretation disclosed only lyrics of invocation plainly produced by a sacerdotal class. While their themes were unenlightening as to the life and movements of the Aryans before and soon after entering India, their texts, which displayed the development of grammar and vocabulary, proved to be mines of information to the Europeans who, by applying synthesis as well as analysis, were able to decipher indelible tracings of the peregrinations of the Indo-Aryan race. In no way referring to the despotic civilization of the Brahmans who rapaciously conserved these records, but exulting in their material assistance to their particular science, the philologists wrote: 'The Rig-Veda is the oldest literature in the Indo-European or Aryan language which stands quite by itself, high up on an isolated peak of remote antiquity.'

"Now with the British imposition of government, literacy was placed within the grasp of not only Brahmans, but every class and every caste. Naturally the Hindu students turned to treatises on their religious literature, and reading the only manuscripts available, those of the European scholars, the typical Indian mind discarded as uninteresting the portion which traces the development of Aryan speech and expression, and race evolution, for the Indian intellect has no historical instinct. It was, and is, concerned only with personal advancement, or in other words, personal karma. From the whole mass of deductions and conclusions the Indian grasps such sentences as the above praise of the Rig-Veda. Immediately he interprets this declaring of the exceptional evidence of philology to mean recognition of evidence of exceptional civilization. Of course this is not the meaning at all. But the Indian's pride of 'Aryan blood' is satisfied with this interpretation which his indifference to induction permits him to accept."

"It is a case of a little knowledge being a dangerous thing," I remark.

"Exactly. It is deplorable and it is harmful. But considering the way we eulogize our own history, our sympathy should soften our judgements of many Hindus who otherwise appear flagrant liars, and our hopes and help can stimulate them to go on past the danger stages of learning to the heights of judgement and application of analysis."

As we make our adieux, the American kindly offers us his copy of Sir H. H. Risley's "Peoples of India."

"You will find this book to be the most complete and rounded compilation of facts and theories concerning the inhabitants of India. Sir Herbert gave forty years of his life to applying deep knowledge of ethnology and wide sympathy of interest to Indian life. I loved the man himself and the world universally respects his work. You will find all of the volume interesting and many parts most instructive. I shall mark page 275 for your particular attention where he states:

> It is clear that the growth of caste instinct must have been greatly promoted and stimulated by certain characteristic peculiarities of the Indian intellect—its lax hold of facts, its indifference to action, its absorption in dreams, its exaggerated reverence for tradition, its passion for endless division and sub-division, its acute sense of minute technical distinctions, its pedantic tendency to press a principle to its furthest conclusion and its remarkable capacity for imitating and adopting social ideas and usages of whatever origin. It is through this imitative faculty that the myth of the four castes—evolved in the first instance by some speculative Brahman, and reproduced in the popular versions of the epics which the educated Hindu villager studies as diligently as the English rustic used to read his Bible—has attained its wide currency as the mold to which Hindu Society ought to conform. That it bears no relation to the actual fact of life is, in the view of its adherents, an irrelevant detail. It descends from remote antiquity; it has the sanction of the Brahmans; it is an article of faith; and every one seeks to bring his own caste within one or other of the traditional classes.

"So you see, the highest theories of Brahmanism promoted the system of slavery and did not affect or assist in the growth of the world."

"You believe the English have brought only benefit?"

"Emphatically. They have enforced peace, applied many elements of democracy and given opportunities and rights to all the people of India for social and spiritual salvation."

A Brahman's Standpoint

A Brahman gentleman calls on us at our hotel, arriving with much pomp in a long, low Rolls-Royce to pay his respects. He is a member of the Legislature at Delhi where he has been conspicuous on numerous occasions in Assembly debates, several of which I heard. We were both guests at several small gatherings of political groups, and I had listened to him make statements regarding American and English literacy and expenditures of government with which I decidedly disagreed but could not efficiently refute, as the statistics had buried themselves so deeply in my brain I could not instantly produce them.

Although it is afternoon, we do not ask him to have tea as we know that he is very orthodox. The conversation at first progresses on pleasant but formal lines, we expressing our pleasure and interest in travelling through India, and he regretting the deplorable state of the country. His reserve and stoical calm are suddenly shot with venom as he imprecates:

"Until the British came to bleed and oppress all India, there was security, there was independence. Our peoples were distinguished in every walk of life. Our scholars, thinkers, poets, scientists, were brilliant achievers."

"When?" I inquire bluntly.

"In our 'Golden Age.' Ah, then art and knowledge, philosophy and wisdom were prevalent, all destroyed by the British!"

"But the 'Golden Age' is legendary. Even the unsubstantiated traditions claim this mythical age existed thirteen hundred years before the British arrived in the East." Frankness had been the order of the day on each of our previous meetings so I did not feel it rude to be candid.

Undaunted and unembarrassed, the Brahman answers, "Our lawmakers and sociologists have left behind them ideas of justice inferior to none!"*

"You have changed the subject," I protest.

He contemplates me with his imperturbable and fathomless hauteur. When the silence grows awkward the young girl who accompanies me inquiries with extreme politeness:

"To what ethics and laws of justice do you refer? I am perhaps not fully informed. From my studies, which have been catholic in scope, I understood that even in Akbar's time there were no judicial codes or written judgements, and that there were no restrictions on the cruelties of legal punishments."

"Our laws were merciful, they were just!" he insists. "It is only the British who are cruel."

"Please tell us definite cases," I urge. "We are both sincerely anxious to learn of the gifts of Indian peoples." No reply. "Tell us about these just laws," I plead. "I have read works of various travellers from various lands, all of which relate cruelties and tortures as prevalent in every reign, without exception. I have read the accounts of Greek, Persian and Portuguese travellers and historians, all of whom agreed in their records which were written long before the British set foot in India."

"It is British cunning which makes up these tales and pretends they were written by others. My people love peace. There have never been feuds and fights and wars before they came. You can't read Sanskrit. You don't know the truth!"

"But I have read translations of Sanskrit. If they were not correct I am confident the Hindus who can read both original and translation would object. I have read records of official historians of different reigns. Take Abdu-L Hamid, court historian of Shah Jahan. He related the most appalling and sickening horrors of torture, poverty, oppression and plague, when bones of dead human beings were pounded and mixed with flour for food; when the penalty for a small theft was the amputation of the right hand; for a second minor offense, the left foot; for a third, the left hand, and for a fourth, the right foot. These were the mildest punishments. The more severe were the tearing out of eyes; pouring of molten lead into throats; crucifying, impaling, sawing of men asunder and similar atrocious punishments which were prevalent. Abdu-L Hamid wrote at a time when the English had just arrived in India but before they held any territorial power or even influence. You see I have studied and applied thought and given time in faithful endeavor to find the truth. So please tell me definite cases and precise data about these idyllic conditions and merciful laws you mention."

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*Lajpat Rai in "England's Debt to India," page 3, makes a similar claim with like lack of substantiation.

The Brahman studies the enormous ruby, set in one of five rings he wears, with languid, lowered eyelids. There is much dignity in his silent resistance which we can not help liking in spite of his unfairness. His statements cannot be attributed to ignorance since he has had every advantage of learning at the Universities of both Madras and Calcutta, only his orthodox Hinduism preventing his studying in England. His physical appearance typifies his mentality. He wears the correct striped trousers and cutaway coat of London afternoon dress, with a towering turban of aquamarine muslin. His extremely small and slim hands and feet as well as his light brown complexion proclaim his high caste. Finally he smiles faintly and lifts his hands and drops them back again, plainly implying we are very wrong and very hopeless.

"What is wrong? What is right? All materiality is nothingness, therefore statements concerning it are lies."

"Yes, I know. Our Western minds are so gross we deal with disgustingly material viewpoints," we mildly but sarcastically interject.

"I did not like to say so," he replies modestly. And then eagerly: "Will you read a book of one of the professors of my university? He proves that my people were the foremost shippers, manufacturers, moral, social and spiritual leaders of the whole East for thousands of years before the British came."

"Gladly."

The book the Brahman sends us is "A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times," by Professor Radharumed Mookerji of Calcutta. This monograph is an interesting compilation which is based on Doctor Mookerji's thesis for his scholarship at Calcutta University. He has painstakingly dug up and assembled every possible reference to boats, in fragments and scattered manuscripts of old Sanskrit and Pali. Many of his translations have necessarily been speculative as the writing is so ancient that interpretation is highly debatable. Doctor Mookerji modestly admits that but few references and allusions have direct bearing on the ships, ship-buildings and voyages of the Indians. For instance, when he finds records which say that "certain woods were advised for boats when communication was difficult owing to vast water," he doesn't claim, as does our Brahman friend, nor as does the writer of Doctor Mookerji's introduction, Doctor Brajindranath Saal, principal of the Maharajah of Cooch Bihar's College, that this means that the Indians were the foremost shipbuilding and maritime nation of ancient eras. The first definite evidence that Doctor Mookerji offers are the crude canoes and barges made of rough planks which are represented among the well-known Sanchi sculptures which belong to the second century B.C. The next evidence in point of time are the sculptures of Kanhery in the island of Salsette, near Bombay, which are believed to belong to the second century A.D. These show a shipwreck and two persons helplessly praying, and Doctor Mookerji writes: "This is perhaps the oldest representation of a *sea voyage* in Indian sculpture."

No doubt it is pride and political motives that impel Mr. Lajpat Rai to refer with misleading italics, in his "England's Debt to India," to Doctor Mookerji's thesis and quote from its introduction, claiming:

> For *thousands of years* before the advent of the British, India had developed shipping and maritime trade to a marvelous extent. There

is ample justification for the claim made for her by one of the Indian writers on the subject, that "the early growth of her shipping and shipbuilding, coupled with the genius and energy of her merchants, the skill and daring of her seamen, the enterprise of her colonists, secured to India the command of the sea for ages and helped her to attain and long maintain her proud position as the mistress of the Eastern Sea."

I regret that Mr. Lajpat Rai failed to define or substantiate his claims, for all authentic histories relate that the Arabs and the Chinese sailed small junk ships carrying all the trade throughout the East before the Portuguese arrived. Not one tells of any Indian trading in foreign waters, much less of her reign as "Mistress of the Eastern Sea"! In fact, many records specially note that the Indians failed to carry their trade to any extent at any period.

An Untouchable's Condemnation

The kindly missionary sends us a note suggesting that we might find much of interest and understanding by visiting a small school outside Madras where an "Untouchable" is principal.

"There are many such teachers as —— ——," writes the missionary, "who are accomplishing much unselfish and commendable work among the hosts of 'Untouchables' who find it too penalizing to attend the schools where they have legal rights. The inflictions they receive are at the hands of the higher-caste Hindus who forcibly resist the rights of the low-castes to even approach the schools where upper-caste children attend. I have known —— —— for twelve years and can vouch for his sincerity of purpose and depth of knowledge. I have already spoken to him of your search for truth in India. He assured me it would be to his great pleasure if you would care to visit his humble surroundings. If you decide to go, Kedari, who brings this chit, will instruct your chauffeur as to the route."

Welcoming the opportunity, we start out on our journey as soon as the downpour of tropical sun is less liberal. We motor out of the city along a road which borders the Bay where ceaseless waves crash continuously against the shore. We pass many natives squatting on their haunches as motionless as the rock they rest on; many cocoanut and palm groves; many rice fields below the level of our pathway. A bullock cart lumbers just ahead, blocking our passage. Drawn by great white oxen whose huge horns are fully a yard long, the tall wheels grind into the sand as their driver pulls to the side, but only after much loud and evidently vituperative imprecation from Nara, our bearer, who is plainly delighted to be able to spend his wrath on some one. His extreme rigidity of countenance had spelt such stern disapproval of his American Queen-Empresses going near a "defiling Untouchable" that we had suggested he remain in Madras but, martyr to the last, he had coldly declined.

A dark-skinned boy squats on the shaft between the very tails of the stolid bullocks, his chin on his lean knee. He stares at us unblinkingly. We venture a smile, but he doesn't change expression.

Carefully but angrily our chauffeur passes the laden cart and glistening backs of the oxen, and we again gain speed into the sun.

After a two-hour run through innumerable villages and stretches of rice fields, we stop before a frame schoolhouse not unlike those we see at home in the country. The little "Untouchables" have evidently all gone home, for not a sound stirs the stillness save the break of the waves on the distant shore. A pleasant-faced Hindu with Western-clipped hair and horn-rimmed glasses emerges from a modest house under the palm trees nearby. He diffidently comes toward us.

"Are you —— ——?" we inquire.

He bows acquiescence.

"I am honored that you have come so far to my humble school."

"We are very happy to come. It is delightfully cool here under these trees so near the sea."

"You have experienced a warm and dusty trip from Madras I am afraid. Will you come into the school? There are chairs which I believe you will find comfortable."

Dismissing the attending Nara, to his now evident relief, we follow the teacher up the walk to the school. He offers us cool water which he pours from an earthernware jug which swings in a bamboo cradle on the porch. He loses his diffidence after we exchange numerous pleasantries and begin to stir the depths of our thoughts. Earnestly he deplores:

"There are over 60,000,000 of my 'Depressed' brethren in this great land, madame, more than there are inhabitants in any country of Europe. We who are 'unclean' and 'defiling,' not because we are diseased or criminal but only because of birth in our caste, are persecuted more than 'unclean' lepers who are physically dangerous to the health of the community. The serfdom of the Israelites in Egypt was not nearly so harsh as the crushing yoke of slavery my people have staggered under down the centuries until the British brought us emancipation."

"Are none of the castes kindly to the 'Untouchables'?" we inquire.

"In recent years there have been a few, pitifully few, who have secured temple entry for some of us. Our skepticism is strong, for none has offered to touch our 'unclean' hands in fellowship. I honestly believe that not even the kindliest of Hindus would willingly allow us the few privileges they sometimes have permitted us so very recently. To come within the touch of even our shadow defiles them. To associate with us would mean excommunication from their society and religion. They would instantly descend to the depths of our 'unclean' purgatory. In the legislature at Delhi expediency has forced them to accept the edicts of British law that we have rights of representation. The few overtures have been mostly, and I am greatly afraid entirely, political snares in order to obtain our votes which the humane British have given us."

"Is not Gandhi helping you?"

"Gandhi! He sometimes offers us lip-service and that only in conversation with you Americans or other white people. When he talks to us he says: 'Toil patiently on, resting in the hope that somehow, sometime, a spontaneous change of attitude toward you may develop in the Hindu mentality. Meantime, venerate the Hindu religion and help me and my Swarajists to rid India of the satanic British government!'* Of what worth is that empty possibility to us? He wants *us* to give *him* definite help and we must wait on a *hope* that *somehow, sometime* the Hindu upper castes *may* change toward us! Madame, my people have been ground down under the contemptuous, contemptible heels of the castes since the beginnings of this most horrible and terrible engine of cruelty ever perpetrated on mankind. I know. I have studied the history of the world in the schools the British have given us, though often I was beaten and tortured as was my poor mother by the caste Hindus who stop at no violence to prevent us from entering the schools the British have made free and open to all Indians. Your great Lincoln gave negroes a Proclamation of Emancipation. Does Gandhi offer us one? No! He and the rest would lose their servants, their slaves, their serfs!"

"We could not believe our eyes," exclaimed my companion, "when we were walking through the native city this morning. We suddenly came upon three wretched, emaciated humans who were eating the entrails of animals thrown out from a Moslem market. We halted, horrified, and they, poor beings, went shrieking down the road, yelling 'Unclean! Unclean! Unclean!' We were so appalled and so sickened that we paused. We wanted to give alms to the pitiful souls but they were gone before we could motion our desire to aid."

"There are millions like those, condemned by '*right*' of birth to scavenging," replies the "Unclean" teacher bitterly. "I was one until an English missionary took me to his little chapel and forced me to eat. I was seven years old and I had never eaten anything but refuse, and often my mother and brother and I had gone for days without water. We were permitted only the rain or slime of mud puddles and then only if at a distance from 'clean' Hindus. We are only '20-foot untouchables' so we are not the lowest caste, but we have suffered agonies. The day the missionary took me screaming and yelling to his mission I was terrified. I expected him to kill me. I choked and trembled so it was difficult to swallow even after he forced me to eat. It was that godly man's kind smile that gave me courage and strength to suffer and fight the caste children and their parents in order to creep onto the porch and listen to the teacher. I was bold. I told the village agent or the missionary when I was beaten, and they helped me. Then the caste people sometimes tortured my mother, but an English lady gave her a home and work, so she lived until two years ago."

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*The "Untouchable" gentleman's memory was exceedingly good. He quoted part of a discourse of Gandhi in "Freedom's Battle," page 157.

"But can't the English force the caste people to stop torturing children when it is their legal right to have education?"

"They try. But there are so few of them—only about 100 British are in the government of this huge Presidency which is larger than Italy. They accomplish miracles as it is. Besides, many of my own people combat the freedom to which they are legally entitled. They are afraid. Only the bold ones like myself dare the cruelties inflicted upon us. The atrophy of generations upon generations has eaten their souls and spirits. They are frightened and terrified, just as I was when seven years old; they accept their state of 'less than dogs.' They submit to the violence and threats as their rightful due. They believe they have been condemned to the utmost depths of shame because of some sin sometime, somewhere. Our caste is supposed to be our soul history. Many of us have been so long sunk in swill, so long cast down into filth and putrefaction, that we cannot see the sky of freedom, we cannot conceive of light. I pray and pray that some Moses will arise from the depths of darkness of my 60,000,000 brethren and lead them to accept the promised land the British have given us."

"You believe the English alone have aided you?"

"I not only believe, I know. During every assembly of the legislature at Delhi one or more of my people have protested against Hindu rule. If the British go, we are condemned to everlasting hell on earth. The Swarajists, as they call themselves, and many other Hindu members, tried to block the

Simon Commission, men of acknowledged expert and gifted minds, who came here to study the problems and assist in the tasks ahead of all India. What honest body of men would attempt to suppress and deny investigation and suggestion from such talented men? There was no reason to believe the results would be lacking in benefit even if the report should not be acceptable as a whole. My fellow members protested the proposed boycott and our official spokesman welcomed the Commission.* Only this last year one of our members, Adi Dravida Jana Sabha, declared in an address to his Excellency, Lord Irwin, that our deliverance began with and was due entirely to the British Government."†

"And the Moslems and Hindus?"

"Many of the Moslems assist our cause, some because of true democracy of heart, some to solicit our political strength. As for the Hindus, hope at their hands is a distorted chimera. It is not only their selfish and vicious prejudice. Our defilement is a definite integrant of Hindu religion. For example, according to the Bhagavata, one of the principal Puranas (secret Hindu books), if one of my people kills a Brahman, he is condemned to 'untouchability' for 'more than four times as many years as there are hairs on the body of a cow.' But if a Brahman kills an 'Untouchable,' he can expiate his sin by reciting the 'gayatra,' a prayer, a hundred times. In some sections a Brahman is entitled to kill an 'Untouchable' if the pariah ('Untouchable') approaches the high-caste man. He wouldn't dare nowadays if in British-governed territories, but they often commit such murders in Native States or in remote sectors of British India. Their religion so instructs them. Is there any wonder that 4,500,000 of us in this entire country, of whom 2,775,000 live in British India, have hearkened to the blessings of the loving Jesus Christ and accepted the benevolence of Christianity and the beneficence of Great Britain with overflowing hearts?"

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*"We welcome this commission. We feel that there is a possibility of its proving a blessing to us. We feel that a mixed commission would have been suicidal from our point of view. You [Hindus] will not face realities. You know full well that the Depressed Classes cannot accept the humiliating position they are in and yet you expect them to join you in boycotting the Simon Commission. We form one-fifth of the humanity in this country. We may be Depressed to-day. We may be denied education, we may be treated as slaves, but we are bound to be counted upon, and we shall say to the country and to the world that the race is not always to the swift nor the fight always to the most vociferous. We shall go before the Simon Commission to place our case frankly." (Legislative Assembly Debates, Feb. 16, 1928, page 431.)

†India Central Committee of 1929 (Report, p. 377). "Our improvement in the social and economic scale began with and is due to the British Government. We shall fight to the last drop of our blood any attempt to transfer the seat of authority in this country from British hands to the so-called high caste Hindus who have ill-treated us in the past and would do so again but for the protection of British laws." (Address presented to his Excellency the Viceroy and the Rt. Honorable Secretary of State for India.)

"Is the British support of your peoples' rights of recent date?"

"No, madame. Our maltreatment and damnification stirred the compassion of the English traders long before Great Britain brought us security of law. The directors of The East India Company erected schools for the Indian children and asserted and assisted our rights to education by issuing a manifesto that we should not be excluded from their schools on grounds of caste. Some accuse the British of only proclaiming and not enforcing these privileges. These accusers are unfamiliar with the overwhelming pressure of steady hatred of Hindus for 'Untouchables.' Only machine guns could force 250,000,000 to passively accept the equal rights of privileges to our 60,000,000. Tell your people that we persecuted Serfs, of one-half the population of the United States, cry out to them, with flowing hearts for the British, and flowing blood from the cruelties of the Hindus, for understanding of our crushing burdens. We have no money to travel to America and proclaim our persecutions. Implore your people to send more missionaries, more doctors, more teachers and more investigators to learn the truth, and not the lies, from this huge country. Plead with them to ignore the honeyed tongues of politicians who proclaim themselves saints! Not what is said, but what is lived, is truth. Ask your people to come and behold the truths. Will you, madame?"

"I promise," I fervently reply.

"Will you, madame?" The Untouchable turns to my companion.

"I will."

"God bless you!"

An Englishman Speaks

The following day we ask a British official: "Did the English find in India any plan of government, any type of art, any mode of life superior or adaptable to their own?"

"None, absolutely none," emphatically replies the official. "Are you interested in a more specific reply?"

"We are, decidedly."

"Then let us first compare the respective governments and the part played in each by their peoples. The only form of administration that had ever existed in India had been autocratic, under Akbar, and despotic under all other rulers, the character of Akbar alone causing this difference. The sovereigns of all the Empires after the sixth century A.D. had been Moslem masters by force of arms. The potentates of various kingdoms and states had also been dictators without limitation. No bill of rights, no constitution, no legislative council, no statutes of criminal or civil laws had ever existed. Penalties for offenses were prosecuted according to whim or will of the rulers without recourse of appeal. A stipulated tax of one-third the gross produce of the entire Empire had been imposed by Akbar following a definite land census. The appraisement of proper yield from varied types of land, the equivalent in tax and the collection of the assessments were entirely under the control of mansabdars. The people could not read or write and seldom could communicate with any except near neighbors, for over 200 dialects were spoken in the country, while the court language was Persian. Consequently, complaints of nepotism were practically uneffective. As a result, the mansabdars often increased the percentage of revenue, in extreme cases to the extent of ten-elevenths of the gross produce,* and retained the difference between the sum totals and the stipulated one-third rate due the Emperor. The Hindus were further governed by the Brahmans, who composed approximately 2½ per cent of the Hindu population.†

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*This percentage of tax, which made slaves of the owners, was exacted in comparatively rare cases, but the charge is authentic.

†Census for 1921 attributes something over 6,000,000 Brahman men to a total of 217,000,000 Hindus. The British official based his rough calculation on these figures.

"These hereditary priests and politicians held a monopoly of authority over Hindu civil and religious life and maintained entire rights to learning. While every priest was a Brahman, every Brahman was not, and even to-day is not, a priest, some following inconsequent professions. So the influential portion of this sacerdotal class was an even smaller percentage of the illiterate whole. This meager proportion of the peoples restricted to themselves the exclusive privileges and powers to create, administer and enforce all social and religious laws of the Hindus. 'Caste' was their product, their practice and their right of prosecution without appeal. Therefore every detail of Hindu civil and religious life was dictated without any voice on the part of a vast population that had no schools and not even rights to schools. So you see, there was no principle of Indian government which was acceptable, much less equal or superior to our own.

"You are, of course, familiar with English Government, so I shall only emphasize the fact that our Magna Charta was signed in 1215, four hundred years before the British arrived in India. That charter avowed and upheld the supremacy of the law of England over the will of the King, and that law was created, administered and enforced not by any sacerdotal class, but by the peoples themselves. Parliament controlled the taxes, passed on the laws of the King and acted as Courts of Justice. You are, I'm sure, familiar with our, and therefore your, Bill of Rights, sovereign citizenship and privileges of person. Oxford University had been established for five hundred years and Cambridge University for four hundred years when the English arrived in this country of no schools of even the most primitive grade for the people at large. Have I proved my point?"

"You certainly have. What about their art and literature?"

"There are many impressive and beautiful erections in India, mostly Mohammedan. They have stirred much interest and admiration, but neither Moslem nor Hindu architecture has affected the art of other lands. Nothing of importance of very early Hindu construction remains because of their demolishment by armies and by the forces of nature. The earliest examples are nearly all Buddhist, such as the colossal sculptured frescoes and labyrinths of statuary cut in the rock at Ajanta during the seventh century, and at Ellora in the eighth century. Greek and Persian influence is evidenced in many cases of semi-ruins, although neither Greeks nor Persians were influenced or affected by Hindu art, which is almost entirely a by-product of religious emotion. The most impressive Hindu structures are non-Aryan: the Dravidian temples at Madura, Tanjore, and Rameswaram, all to the south of us on the tip of the peninsula. These stupendous pyramidal towers, rising story upon story in horizontal bands, are prodigious in size, and compelling in structure. The great gopurams, or giant gateways, rise all of 150 feet into the skies, entirely covered with elaborate and intricate carvings of grotesqueries and obscenities which are integrals of Hindu worship. Neither the gigantic towers nor the minute sculptures have influenced any art at any time as they are unique expressions of Hindu emotion of religion. The temple at Madura was completed in 1660, while the temple of Tanjore was probably of later construction but, as it has been preserved without alteration, it is the best specimen of Dravidian style. The date of construction of the shrine at Rameswaram is adjudged by foreign connoisseurs to be contemporary to the others, but the Hindus insist it was built by the god Rama,* the seventh incarnation of Vishnu.

"As to Mohammedan palaces, mosques and forts, we found marvellous edifices that still stir our admiration and inspire our wonderment and even awe. But they have not affected the art elsewhere, since they are of borrowed architecture themselves; they are Saracenic in design. That marvellous building, the great mosque in Agra, was erected in 1566; the Fortress of Agra in 1571; the Delhi Fort and Palace of Shah Jahan between 1639 and 1645, and that most exquisite and sublimely beautiful tomb, the Taj Mahal, was completed in 1648. These

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*Rama is the hero of the Ramayana, an epic poem ascribed to the fifth century B.C., relating to the Aryan advance into South India which occurred approximately 1000 B.C.

Moslem structures are of splendid proportions and beautiful design. They are particularly impressive arising so gloriously above their settings of monotony and squalor, although they would inspire tribute in any location.

"These constructions were the results of the commands of the artistic beauty-lovers, the Emperor Jahangir and Shah Jahan, who reigned at the height of the magnificence and magnitude of the Moghul Empire. They wielded tremendous power and compelled the labor of millions of people. None of these superb creations could have been accomplished without autocratic command over thousands upon thousands of artist-slaves. They share three characteristics with Hindu constructions: stupendous size, masses of minute and delicate carvings of perfection of detail, and nameless creators. Though they embody the patient and tedious toil of artists in hosts of numbers, and each represents the splendor of conception of some superb architect, not one name of an actual originator has been preserved or perpetuated. Their creations are everlasting, but the creators were ephemeral. We can ardently admire, but not possibly adapt, the magnificence of Mohammedan architecture. Not even India could to-day imperiously command the labor of such multitudes of artists. We never did.

"While neither our climate nor our judgement reacted favorably to such design for ourselves, we possess many structures of Gothic grandeur. Parts of Westminster Abbey are said to have been eight hundred years old when the Taj Mahal was completed, and certainly a large portion had been erected four hundred years previously (1245–1269). The Cathedral of Canterbury was six hundred years old, Exeter Cathedral was in process of erection from 1280 to 1394; Warwick Castle and Windsor Castle were approximately three hundred years of age, and Hampton Court Palace had been built a hundred years previously. Christopher Wren, that colossus of architecture, was sixteen years of age when the Taj Mahal was completed, and twenty-eight years old and already busy in designing innumerable churches and buildings when the Temple at Madura was completed. So much for a very condensed but, I believe, equitable glossary of the times as far as our comparative art is concerned.

"As for literature, in India it was almost entirely Vedic and certainly entirely Brahmanic, and therefore resolutely restricted by the Brahmans as exclusively esoteric. The presentation of Sanskrit literature to the world was due entirely to our efforts. When Warren Hastings took up the post of Governor-General of the East India Company's territories in India in 1774, the commercial associations of trading companies had expanded to a status comparable to that of the proprietary colonies which laid the foundation of such states as Maryland and Pennsylvania in America. He recognized the fairness and the wisdom of ruling the Hindus as far as possible according to their own laws and customs, and accordingly caused a number of Brahmans to prepare a digest based on the ancient Vedas which were their authority of administration. An English version of this Sanskrit compilation was also made through the medium of a Persian translation, and published in 1776. The result was, as Professor Macdonell points out, 'the first impulse to the study of Sanskrit was given by the practical administrative needs of our Indian possessions.'

"In the course of his research Sir William Jones unearthed the Sakuntala, an ancient drama by the poet Kalidasa, which Sir William published to the world. His translation of this lyric drama has been famous in the West ever since 1789. He also translated the Institutes of Manu and published them in 1794, thus broadcasting and preserving this hitherto esoteric literature.

"The beginnings of Comparative Philology coincide in point of time with the popular upheaval which found expression in a new science based upon an ancient language of which most people then heard for the first time. Comparative Philology, which resulted in momentous and comprehensive disclosures of Indian ethnology, was of great interest to ardent and astute scientists. Sanskrit is the one exception I can make of an Indian accomplishment which has been accepted by us, for it is the basis of classification of races by linguistic characters. It has stirred the intense interest of scientific minds to the benefit of India.

"While the Indian intellect is almost entirely indifferent to ethnology and anthropology, conceiving evolution to be not progress of race but progress of karma, both ethnology and anthropology, as well as philology, have been of tremendous service in the fair administration and judication of Indian civil legislation. This indifference, or misconception, is the major cause for the failure of any Indian statesman to ascend to political supremacy as lawgiver or legislator. It is our application of these sciences which has given us perspective and constructive understanding of the social streams and currents that have amalgamated to compose the complex and contradictory character of the diverse peoples of India, thus enabling us to recognize and wisely (I sincerely believe) answer the distinct needs and demands of heterogenetic bloods. This is the only fair and only proper foundation of government, and it is on this basis that we have constructed the government of India which recognizes the prerogative of local rights and yet unites the component parts in a central whole under British supervision.

"While a peaceful and working administration in India results to British financial benefits of trade, as is the case everywhere in the world, it is of much greater financial gain to India which has a world trade of her own. But what is of paramount and vital importance is that it blesses the country with peace and progress. So the work of our scientists based on the treasures of Sanskrit has been of great interest to the English as well as to all nations of the world, and of tremendous benefit to the Indians."

"What were the industries of the people when the English first came to India?"

"Some copper and iron ores were being crudely mined and beaten into ornaments, pots and ewers or weapons, and a few low-castes were engaged in the diamond mines in Golconda, which had produced practically all the huge diamonds found to this day, but the diamond fields had already been almost exhausted and the gold mines were only spasmodically worked and almost abandoned until modern methods revived the industry. The bulk of the workers were engaged almost solely in agricultural pursuits and hand spinning.

"Following the weakening of the Moghul Empire and the general exhaustion from continuous feuds and wars, the people had turned their talents to weaving fabrics for themselves. Before the Europeans arrived there had been commerce with Arab and Persian traders, and we know from Marco Polo that cotton was grown and manufactured in India in large quantities, the sheerest and finest fabrics being used almost entirely by the numerous zenanas of the courts. The same talents for laborious and delicate detail, that had inspired the exquisite and minute carvings on marble, were instilled in those who used their art for the spinning and weaving of flowered chintzes and muslins, and the blending of various dyes, with which much of the cloth was beautifully figured.

"Almost simultaneous with the termination of the once glittering and luxurious Moghul Court and the lack of imperial command for the delicate and sheer cloths, the English arrived with gold to exchange for spice. In their travels from village to village for the spice products, they found the people engaged in making these lovely fabrics, which the English bought in increasing quantities. On their arrival in England these Indian commodities became a great fad. Fabrics and spices were in great demand. The English desire for products and the Indian desire for gold stimulated a commerce between the continents. Between 1747 and 1757 alone, the East India Company exported to India almost $3,000,000 (£562,423) of bullion in this traffic of shawls, fine calicoes, muslins, indigo, cloves, mace and other spices to England and gold from England to India. We supplied the major portion of the $5,000,000,000 worth of gold which is hoarded in India to-day, in this and later commerce."

"Were there any other gifts or advantages you found or brought?"

"Not in the beginning. But the increasing trade and territorial power of the company finally developed into a huge organization which in the process of expansion finally brought peace and opportunities for physical, mental and commercial growth to the Indian peoples. With the progress of civilized and commercial development we found a market for our industries. We sold railway equipment, irrigation machinery and other mechanical devices. We gave to India a unifying force of common language, schools and colleges and universal rights to education; postal and railway communications as cheap and as efficient as our own; protection from famine and plague by introduction of sanitation and water distribution which regulated and protected the crops from soil disease and monsoon and drought affliction; we distributed by public carriers the products for relief in times of need, and for profits in times of plenty. We introduced and fostered new industries, in order that the very lives of the inhabitants would not depend entirely on agricultural success, and so increased the productiveness and wealth of the individual and the country. We evolved equitable criminal and civil codes that were, so far as possible, adjustable to local customs and yet gave liberty and freedom to every man, woman and child; we legalized personal and property rights irrespective of class, caste or creed.

"Such democracy has been entirely revolutionary and totally contrary to any government they had ever known. We have given them representative legislation and admitted them as rapidly as possible into the execution and administration of government. We have given them the first reign of peace within their own borders and immunity from invasion from without. We have protected them to the utmost of our endeavor from such customs as harmed only themselves, such as 'suttee,' child marriage and human sacrifice. We have benefited them by developing a government of the people, and for the people; and have earnestly and faithfully carried out our pledge as soon as humanly possible to continue, to the absolute, that which we have given in limited but larger and larger, part: government *by* the people."

It is not to be supposed that we are able to induce this English official to voice such a concise expression of thought with so few questions by ourselves. It takes a full afternoon and our most persuasive efforts to cajole these statements from the conservative Britisher. As the sun drops suddenly into the Bay of Bengal and the shadows of a brief dusk lie across the garden where we idle over tea, our tall spare host regards us with a whimsical smile.

"I have a confession to make. I had anticipated more—well, more curiosity than purposeful inquiry from such youthful visitors and it is really most refreshing to find such vital interest in my foster country."

"Then may we intrude and ask one personal question, which still is interest and not curiosity? Will you be glad or sorry to leave India when your thirty years of service are completed?"

"I—don't know. There is an elusive, perhaps illusive, call of the East after one has lived here many years that is said to beckon inexorably. There is certainly a peace and serenity that one finds alluring even though not altogether acceptable to our aspiring minds. India has been my 'job' for twenty-eight years. Come to see me five years from now in Devonshire. I can tell you then if the lure is a mirage or a reality."

CHAPTER VII

THE GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT

"It is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge," proclaimed Queen Victoria on the transfer of the government from the East India Company to the British Crown in 1858.

With what purpose and by what right did this Company assume authority to administer the vast sub-continent of India? Was this assumption and its subsequent transference to the suzerainty of a nation almost on the other side of the world in consonance with the principles of present-day conscience? Has the Government of Great Britain constantly worked toward the avowed desire of Queen Victoria to develop the Indian peoples to the prescribed qualification of education and ability with the ideal and goal that they themselves execute and administer a representative dominion? In other words, was Great Britain justified in incorporating India in her Empire, and has that incorporation been of benefit to India?

The answer to these questions, which are of deep concern not only to the peoples of India but to all citizens of the world, is to be found in the history of English settlement and expansion, and in the transition from the mercantile efforts of a private enterprise to the present administration of a representative legislature under the central control of British Ministers appointed by the Parliament of England. This history may be divided into three parts: first, the years from 1600 to 1757, when the English traders purchased Indian merchandise under competitive conditions of rivalry with other European companies; second, the hundred years following the rise of the East India Company to supremacy over the European rivals and the evolution of the Company's territorial control as a zemindar, or landlord, to that of administrator of the major portion of India; third, beginning in 1858 with the assumption of the Company's dominion by Great Britain, the incorporation of that dominion into the British Empire, and the growth of Imperial Government, to the representative administration of to-day.

In our research into the two earlier periods we shall be little assisted by contemporary native documents, for they are practically non-existent. Moghul rule, which had supported and stimulated literary memoranda, was shattered. Brahman writers rested on their Vedic laurels. Never imbued with a historic sense, the small percentage of Indians sufficiently literate to inscribe comprehensive archives were mentally and physically submerged by tumultuous floods of disruption until peace and security were established by British control. We shall be able to study numerous official reports and chronicles, as well as graphic journals of British agents and historians, of all these particular eras. We shall peruse records which have been endorsed as authentic tabulations and annals which are adjudged equitable accounts by Indians and English scholars alike.

The Period of Gestation

Trade, not dominion, was the objective of the East India Company which was formed in London in 1600. The policies of this organization were entirely commercial. All plans and proceedings for settling posts on the Indian coasts were formulated in the interests of trade. The arrival of the English merchantmen in India was coincident with ascendancy of English power and English prosperity in Europe.

Aurangzeb and Louis XIV were contemporaries. The reigns of both were followed by those of surface magnificence but internal poverty. Glittering splendor, as well as decay, was simultaneous in India and France. Wars of conquest and aggression, which at first had been triumphant, gradually undermined and wasted the wealth of man power and material possessions. Fanatical religious persecution, widespread corruption and a magnificent court were characteristics of both the Moghul and Bourbon dynasties. Fatal enervation of both countries followed. The decline and eclipse of both powers were concurrent with the ascension of England to paramount position in Europe. Under the Tudors England enjoyed a hundred years of great internal prosperity. When the Moghul Empires were warring, England was waxing in maritime supremacy. With power and prosperity grew love of luxuries and willingness to pay. With Bourbon slackening of authority the seas were cleared for the English traders. With Moghul exhaustion the peoples of India turned to weaving of fabrics and culture of spices. These conditions all fostered the growth and expansion of English commerce.

Until after the battle of Plassey the profits of the East India Company were derived solely from England. These were the margins charged the English purchasers for the risk the traders ran in securing and shipping products in the teeth of militant opposition of rival European traders, and in spite of feudal and piratical attacks in India. The prosperity of this trade, fostered and promoted by pioneer merchants who chanced their money on what at first seemed an impossible project, effected such enormous profits that seventy-seven years after its founding every proprietor received a bonus of a quantity of stock equal to that which he held. On the capital thus doubled were paid dividends amounting to 20 per cent annually. According to the standards of present-day business operations, where no physical dangers or risks are dared in obtaining an article of trade, this profit was large but not unreasonable.

The East India Company received strenuous opposition at home because of its exports of bullion. In the seventeenth century the company was constantly accused of impoverishing England by these dispatches of gold, and indeed it was some time before any but the maritime classes understood that it was a false theory that exportation of bullion exhausted a nation's wealth. Yet the people continued their demand for spices and fragile and beautiful Indian textiles, and the traders continued to secure them largely because of these gold payments.

The vacillating and unpopular dynasty of the Stuarts gave ill support to the territorial security of the Indian posts. The maritime power and prestige of England did give the commercial colonies a secure base at home and a limited protected freedom of the seas in the six months' voyage from England to India. But the merchants appealed in vain to the Crown for more definite assistance, urging that: "the trade carried on by the East India Company is the trade of the English nation in the East Indies and so far a national concern." But the Crown was too vitally interested in upholding the power of Holland in the West, to listen to the pleas of the merchants who were compelled to compete with the merciless hostility of the nationally supported French and Dutch traders. The English private association actually contended against two sovereign powers, for both Holland and France actively assisted all national expeditions and annexations.

The interests of Eastern commerce were totally averse to those of European politics. In Europe, the Dutch were allies of the English against the aggressions of France. In the East, the Dutch with their 170 fortified stations were bitter enemies of the English. Consequently the British Crown readily granted sovereign powers to the agents of the East India Company, thereby taking no risks, acknowledging slight responsibility and interfering only occasionally to demand a share in the profits, or to exact a heavy levy for charter renewals. Compelled to rely on their own resources of wealth and energy, the merchants fortified their posts, fought their own battles and exacted tribute and territory from defeated aggressors.

The territories were neither acquired nor acclaimed in the name of the Crown, as was the case of the colonies in America. Yet these commercial posts became not only the emporia for Indian trade but also the cardinal points upon which pivoted the whole Asian commerce from the Persian Gulf eastward even to China. They were the indispensable links of the most profitable sea-borne trade in the world. Fortresses for local protection of this commerce became more and more powerful. Necessity, not intent, instigated the increase of suzerain rights of the posts over the surrounding Indian country.

Assumption of jurisdiction was first confined to the malarious fringes of the coasts, and its object went no further than security of commerce. The agents traded along the shores and up the rivers with little opposition from the Indians. The only native naval force belonged to the Siddhus, an independent Abyssinian colony, whose chiefs occasionally placed their fleet at the disposal of Aurangzeb, the last powerful Moghul, for employment on the Bombay side of the Indian peninsula. As the Moghul Empire weakened and broke up, the traders extended their traffic further and further inland. With the defeat of the Bengal and French troops at Plassey and the victory over the Dutch forts soon after, the English were able to monopolize the entire Indian commerce.

Even before Plassey, the merchants were continuously exposed to oppressive extortion and capricious ransoming from roving and harassing bands of guerillas and fluctuating powers who could give no valid guarantees of safeguards in return. Immunities and privileges, even when obtained from the decaying Moghul Empire, were not secured or enforced. There was not a single power in the whole of India that could guarantee protection for the merchants no matter what prices they paid. Chaos was epidemic. The only safeguards of the traders were their own strongholds.

In 1671 the Mahratta Chief, Sivaji, attacked the British factory at Surat and levied heavy contributions from the English. The merchants never forgot. Adopting the practice of the country, when they thereafter defeated the Indians they in turn levied tribute, which was the only method of decreasing the continuous assaults.

The English forces were always insignificant in number. Their superior tactics and strategy, their ability to invent, their effective artillery and organized methods enabled their small personnel to increase territorial supervision over all who intruded or trespassed on their commerce.

In 1754 the British increased their small band to two hundred men in the whole of India. To protect their centres of trading supplies and bullion stores, they employed mercenary troops which swarmed through the country, ready to serve any master for pay. Clenching the perilous friendship of Princes by favors and bribes, this mere handful of intrepid merchants and soldiers organized an army from the vagrant rabble and built up a rough form of local government. They developed a constitution which resembled in many respects those of the proprietary colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania. After Plassey these proprietary bodies appointed a governor and council which were invested with local autonomy under the general authority of the English sovereign.*

The Growth of Company Control (*1760–1857*)

The year 1760 was a memorable one in the affairs of the British Empire. In America the English vanquished the French and established their colonial supremacy there. In the East the English likewise vanquished the French and established their commercial dominion over the sub-continent of India. In England the fanatical and insane George III ascended the throne.†

The entire reign of this Hanoverian was one of tyranical financial policy. The taxes imposed resulted in despotic assessments in England, the stamp act in the American Colonies, and equally unjust levies on the operations of the East India Company in England and in India.

Harried by heavy imposts, the rapacious stockholders were indifferent to the hardships of their underpaid traders whose salaries were miserably poor. Harassed by the insistent de-

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*"The united proprietary representative sovereignty of the lands of Bengal is virtually in right, possession, fact and relative circumstances, but on a large imperial scale, almost precisely what private territorial property was in some provinces of North America, with respect to local or more extensive national interests of the high ruling protecting State of Great Britain, and differing only in the descriptive terms of conquered and colonized dependencies." Grant's "Analysis," Indian Statutory Commission Report, vol. I, page 111 *et seq.*

†As early as 1765 it was recognized that this sovereign was mentally deranged. Already he had caused much justified discontent in America and India. Apparently recovering from this attack, he continued his rule in spite of many recurrent lapses. The last nine years of his life he was hopelessly insane, his son, later George IV, acting as regent.

mands for more revenues from the proprietors, it is no wonder that the agents resorted to private trade inland where they perpetrated usurious practices of barter. Clive, who had returned to Europe in 1760 after further assuring his victories over the French and Dutch, was again sent to India in 1765 to institute reforms in the East India Company, whose representatives had become a "band of brigands."

Now following the victory at Plassey, in 1757, Clive had demanded enormous compensations from the defeated native armies as well as from the Sultan whom he had placed upon the throne of Bengal. The Indians were accustomed to paying tribute to conquerors and expected the penalty of exactions. Furthermore, they were filled with awe for this small band of English who had successfully commanded 1,000 of their own men and a mere 2,000 sepoys (native troops) with only eight pieces of artillery, against Indian forces of 50,000 foot and 18,000 horse troops with fifty cannon. However, there was no gold to pay the English victors, who still held high ideas as to the wealth of the Indian peoples. Amazed by the splendor of the glittering courts, the merchants had not understood that the imperial Moghuls and invading hosts had stripped the wealth of the people at large. The assets that remained after the innumerable Afghan raids could not satisfy reparations of £2,500,000 for the murder of the English at Calcutta and for the destruction of Company property. The agents were finally compelled to accept one-half of this amount, and one-third of this reduced assessment had to be taken in jewels and plate.*

The New Nawab of Bengal, in payment for his enthronement by Clive, made a grant to the Company of a landholder's rights over a district surrounding Calcutta of 882 square miles in area. These zemindar rights conferred authority upon the Company to collect cultivators' rents as well as to adjudicate these revenues, but the Nawab, as representative of the Delhi Emperor, retained the land taxes.†

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*Not all of the money was paid over to the Company nor to the injured individuals. Clive and other Company officials concerned obtained large sums for themselves.

†In India taxes on land have always been kept distinct from taxes on produce. Land taxes were paid to the Delhi Emperor, or his representative, by the zemindars, or land-

The following year, 1758, Clive was appointed the first Governor of all the Company settlements in Bengal. Two powers threatened hostilities. On the northwest a mixed army of Mahrattas and Afghans, led by the Imperial Prince, afterward the Moghul Emperor Shah Alam, supported the Nawab of Oudh, who claimed the throne of Bengal. In the south the French still seemed to threaten, for it was not yet known that the victory of Plassey was the real termination of French opportunity for Indian Empire. Sir W. W. Hunter writes:*

> The name of Clive exercised a decisive effect in both directions. Our Nawab of Bengal, Mir Jafar, was anxious to buy off the Shah, who had already invested Patna. But Clive marched in person to the rescue, with an army of only 450 Europeans and 2,500 Sepoys, and the Moghul army dispersed without striking a blow.

In the south, Clive successfully and conclusively defeated the French.

In 1759, as compensation for his continued military protection of the Nawab, the land tax of the 882-acre grant was turned over to Clive, personally, who thus became the landlord of his own proprietors, the East India Company, who held the rights to cultivators' rents. This military fief, or "jagir," became a matter of inquiry in England. The feudal suzerainty of Clive was contested by the Company in 1764, but in 1765 when his military genius and magic name were direly needed to protect their interests in India from their own representatives, the Company issued a new deed confirming this right to Clive for ten years with subsequent reversion to the Company in perpetuity. In 1765 the Delhi Emperor sanctioned the agreement, giving absolute validity to the original grant.† It is

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lords, who rented the land to cultivators and taxed the crops produced. The zemindars kept the cultivators' taxes.

*"History of the Indian Peoples," page 183.

†Although Clive's rights to this grant were agreed upon in 1765 by all parties concerned, in 1773 (six years after Clive's last departure from India and forty-five years before the Company was distinctly recognized as representing the British Government in India) this jagir, as well as other "presents" that Clive had received in India, was subject of investigation in the House of Commons, where Clive declared that he considered that, as conqueror and protector of peoples beyond the suzerainty of the Company, he was entitled to such presentations. He argued that he had never attempted the slightest secrecy of the gifts that he had received and in every instance had acquainted the Court of the Company's Directors with the facts. Doctor Vincent Smith, who thought that "Clive was

well to recall the more coercive methods and appropriations of the English colonists on the American Continent in order to judge the procedure of the merchants in India.

During Clive's absence in England from 1760 to 1765, the fierce Mahrattas met the ferocious Afghans on the memorable battlefield of Panipat in 1761. The Mahrattas were Hindus who had grown in power from roving bands to the strongest native Confederacy. They had captured Delhi in 1760 and held the ineffectual Moghul Emperor a prisoner. The Afghan hordes, lured by desire to pillage and conquer the distraught and weakened Indian states, again poured through the Khyber and clashed with the Mahratta forces at Panipat.

The Afghan attack was so severe that:

> All at once, as if by enchantment, the whole Mahratta army at once turned their backs and fled at full speed, leaving the field of battle covered with heaps of dead. The instant they gave way, the victors pursued them with the utmost fury; and as they gave no quarter, the slaughter is scarcely to be conceived, the pursuit continuing for ten or twelve coss (more than twenty miles) in every direction in which they fled.

The Hindu (Mahratta) slaughtered is estimated at 200,000 although they had gone into battle 300,000 strong against a smaller force of Afghans. In the language of Kasi Raja Pundit, "every tent had heads piled up before the door of it." Nearly all the Hindu leaders of note were slain. The casualties of the victorious Moslem Afghans are not recorded, but lists of the loot they acquired are mentioned in many accounts. As Elphinstone observes,

> There never was a defeat more complete, and never was there a calamity that diffused so much consternation. Grief and despondency spread over the whole Mahratta people; most had to mourn relations, and all felt the destruction of the army as a death-blow to their national greatness. The peshwa (Mahratta leader) never recovered from

too willing to meet Asiatic intrigues on their own ground," records on page 505 of his "Oxford History": "The propositions thus stated are all true in fact, and the defense, so far as it went, was sound. The House of Commons, while expressing general disapproval of the practice current sixteen years before (in 1757), refrained from formulating a personal condemnation of Clive and wisely recorded their judgment that 'Robert, Lord Clive, did at that time render great and meritorious services to his country.'"

> the shock. He slowly retreated from his frontier toward Puna, and died in a temple which he had himself erected near that city. The wreck of the army retired beyond the Nerbadda, evacuating almost all their acquisitions in Hindustan. Dissensions soon broke out and the government of the peshwa never recovered its vigors. Most of the Mahratta conquests were recovered at a subsequent period; but it was by independent chiefs, with the aid of European officers and disciplined sepoys.

Thus ended the Hindu confederacy.

The Moghul Empire at Delhi was but a feeble show, a phantom authority. No real government existed in the whole land and predatory armies harassed the surviving states who were anxious to draw the wonder-working Europeans into their quarrels as allies. The Indian peoples were a masterless multitude frantically seeking any protective authority that would put to an end the incessant bloodshed of destructive revolts and the continuous attacks and invasions of merciless plunderers. The tumultuous hordes sought any master who could secure the protection of their lives and properties. The powers of the handful of English traders, and particularly of Clive, seemed inexplicable and marvellous phenomena. Accustomed to stern control by foreign masters who held together the vast country by force, the disorganized tribes were ready to acquiesce to the assumption of any authority which appeared able to discharge even the most elementary functions of government. The English traders, who could win such miraculous victories and yet not penalize the defeated peoples by atrocious cruelties and inexorable exactions, ostensibly offered the only answer to these distraught peoples.

The traders found themselves in a dilemma. At Plassey their troops had fought for the first time as offensive principals, and not as mere auxiliaries, against a large native army under an Indian sovereign prince. Their routing of this multitude had given striking illustration of the basic feebleness of the native governments and armies. The forces of all Indian powers at this time were an agglomeration of fickle mercenaries who were ready to serve any master who paid well. The traders realized they could hire these roving, freelance soldiers as easily and even more permanently than the local princes, with steady payments of gold. Sepoys flocked to the English posts, desirous of transferring their services to the standards of leaders who could always pay and usually won. With English-trained tacticians as military leaders, European artillery, and a well-drilled native infantry, the Company could control a combination of war material that would be invincible in this seething, leaderless country of unstable rulers whose own titles usually rested on dexterous usurpations, and whose co-operation was for sale to the highest bidder.*

This opportunity for empire, simultaneous with the insistent demands of avaricious stockholders for money, filled the agents with dubiety and indecision as to their actual position and correct procedure in the country. Although they were conquerors de facto, they could not assume the status of rulers de jure. They were merely representatives of a commercial enterprise with no warrant from their Crown to annex territory.

There had been individuals who felt India offered a golden opportunity for the extension of British terrain. As early as the seventeenth century, Sir Josiah Child, chairman of the Company in London, had advocated the laying of "the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come," but Sir Josiah was one of a small minority. The large majority of the officers of the Company in England had been consistently averse to acquisition of Indian territory, holding that such a procedure would incur greater responsibilities without increase of profits.

Already the mercantile gains were threatened by the flying shuttle, which had been invented in England in 1760, quickly followed by that of the spinning jenny.† The Indian hand-woven fabrics of exquisite texture continued in favor, but even at that time the shadow of the wholesale production of mechanical looms forecast the diminishing of quantity demand and the cutting of the Company's profits.

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*Doctor Smith states: "The Indian Governments with which the British had to deal were thoroughly debased. Treachery and murder of the most atrocious kinds were almost universally recognized as ordinary methods of state craft . . . the court of Delhi was hopelessly vicious and corrupt . . . the ministers were utterly unscrupulous. . . . The minor courts as a rule were no better, and it would be difficult to name an honest man among the prominent Indian notables of the time whether in the north or in the south . . . everybody and everything was on sale." ("Oxford History," page 498.)

†Later the completion by Watt of his steam engine in 1768, the invention of the spin-

There was no master-mind, such as Robert Clive, in India to determine their course. They themselves had neither the equipment nor the capacity to establish a stable form of government in a country so vast and so disrupted. Intrigue and bribery was the order of the day among the Indians themselves. The agents had become schooled in meeting guile with guile, intrigue with intrigue, bribery with bribery. They were soldiers of fortune, not crusaders, so they felt no compunction in using unscrupulous Western measures against unscrupulous Eastern manners. As for the Company, the agents felt little loyalty to proprietors who paid such paltry salaries to the men who actually ran all the risks. The traders were avowedly in the East for profit, not for philanthropy, yet the profits went into the coffers of their employers. Practising sharp methods of barter, facing continuous dangers in the service of extremely lucrative commerce for an unappreciative Company, it is not surprising that practically all of these soldiers of fortune, including the civil and military officers, stooped to private trade and extortionate practices for personal gain.

For the four years between the Mahratta-Afghan battle of Panipat and Clive's return to India in 1765, the agents were practically a band of freebooters. The scandalous deeds of these private individuals were reported and recorded in full detail in subsequent investigations. They were the cause of John Mill's vituperative history which is quoted so often to-day as proof that Great Britain gained India by unjustifiable and unethical exploits. These traders, who were servants of a purely commercial enterprise, lived one hundred and seventy years ago. Their misdeeds were committed almost one hundred years before Great Britain assumed the suzerainty of India and more than fifty years before the government recognized the East India Company as their official representative in India.

ning mule in 1779, and the power loom in 1795, further decreased the Company's textile commerce.

When the news of the greed and perfidy of their agents reached London, the directors of the Company were aghast and "at a loss how to prescribe means to restore order from this confusion." It was a case of "Hobson's choice," and the proprietors were obliged to turn to the man whom they had been denouncing in regard to his "jagir," the one man who possessed the genius and the personal power to dictate the turn of events in India—Robert Clive. This was the occasion of Lord Clive's second appointment as Governor of Bengal.

Clive arrived in India in 1765 with strict and specific instructions to purify the services and reform the abuses. He stepped from his boat into a tumultuous situation. The Bengal Nawab had decided to forget that he owed his throne to the British, and had murdered every European in his power with one exception, a Doctor Fullerton. Having massacred 150 English, the Nawab proceeded to attack the other traders with the aid of the Nawab of Oudh. There was no time for Clive to start reformation of the agents' practices. He whipped his comparatively insignificant forces into an attacking army and immediately advanced into Bengal where he defeated the native hosts, which are variously estimated from 40,000 to 60,000 men.

This defeat made conclusive the victory at Plassey and decided the fate of nearly the northern half of India. The Nawab of Oudh was permitted to retain his kingdom on condition that he pay £500,000 sterling toward the expenses of the war and as reparations for the massacred English. Two provinces lying between the Ganges and the Jumna were partitioned to the Moghul Emperor, Shah Alam, who in turn granted to the English Company the fiscal administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Company guaranteed an annual allowance of £600,000 to the puppet Nawab of Bengal, as well as a yearly land tax of £300,000 from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Moghul Emperor. Thus was constituted the dual system of government by which the English collected all the revenues of three provinces, paid part of them to the Bengal Nawab and part to the Delhi Emperor, and in return undertook to maintain an army and sustain military protection. The criminal jurisdiction continued to be invested in the Nawab.

Then Clive proceeded to revise and reform the entire organization of the Company's service despite mutinous resistance. Private trade and receipt of presents were prohibited, while a substantial increase of pay was provided. That this compensation was still inadequate may be judged by the letter of Sir Thomas Munro, who wrote to his sister in 1798, twenty-four years later, while Governor of Madras:

> You may not believe me when I tell you that I never experienced hunger, thirst, fatigue and poverty till I came to India—but that since, I have frequently met with the first three, and that the last has been my constant companion.

The Company was harsher with its own servants than with the Indians.

While Company reorganization was only partially successful at this time and trading abuses were not entirely eliminated for some years to come, English endeavors for equitable rule in India date from the second governorship of Clive in 1765, as the English military supremacy dates from his victory at Plassey in 1757.

Clive's dual system of government, whereby the British were the real rulers but the administration of the districts was carried on by native officials, proved a failure. It was impossible to remedy faults or create reforms under such a plan of divided responsibility. Warren Hastings, an experienced and distinguished administrator of Indian affairs, was appointed Governor by the Company's directors in 1772 with express instructions to institute a more effective and equitable form of government. Hastings became the administrative organizer, as Clive had been the territorial founder, of Indian Empire.

In 1784 the British Government assumed a degree of control over the Company's procedure by an act of Parliament commonly known as Pitt's India Act. The Company continued its mercantile occupation and Parliament for the first time accepted a modified responsibility for the welfare of Indian peoples as well as British agents.

Probably the most important provision in this Act was section 87 which expounded the principle that:

> No native of the said territories nor any natural-born subject of his Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the company.

Thus the bar of race, for the first time in the entire history of caste-fettered, feud-scourged India, was removed by the foreign British.

Warren Hastings laid the foundation of English efforts to rule the Indians as far as possible according to native laws and customs with which he had made himself familiar during his twenty-three years of active service in India. He instructed a number of Brahmans to prepare a digest based on the ancient Hindu legal authorities as well as a Sanskrit compilation of the Vedas through the medium of a Persian translation. He blended comparatively democratic English institutions with autocratic Hindu standards. He reformed every branch of the revenue collections, created courts of justice and laid the basis of a policing patrol.*

Lord Cornwallis was made Governor-General in 1786. He raised the superstructure of the system of civil administration founded by Warren Hastings. He instituted higher criminal courts under European legal administrators and established the Supreme Court of Criminal Judicature at Calcutta. In the rural districts he separated the functions of Revenue Collector and Civil Judge and achieved a permanent system of land revenue which was a distinct advance beyond any Indian system hitherto evolved.

Cornwallis continually contended with sporadic attacks of various States which were too weak to form authoritative kingdoms and yet strong enough ceaselessly to harass English commerce and dominion. Beyond the Bengal frontier a group of

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*It was the tragedy of Warren Hastings' life that, although he is to-day considered to have been the greatest of Anglo-Indian proconsuls, he was impeached by the House of Commons on the charge of oppressive acts, at the instigation of envious political enemies, on his return to England after giving thirty-five years of notable service in India. History has adequately endorsed his acquittal from every one of the infamous charges.

Mohammedan Viceroys of the old Moghul régime had established independent States, the most important of which was Oudh. Beyond this group the Hindu Mahrattas were ineffectual controllers of northern India, holding the Delhi Emperor as a puppet of their dictation. These powers all fluctuated as allies or opponents of the British.

In 1798 Lord Mornington, later Marquess Wellesley, was made Governor-General. Inspired by an indomitable spirit that refused to recognize defeat, and endowed with a political wisdom that enabled him to put into operation his imperial projects that were to change the map of British India, this close friend and intimate of Pitt insisted that the British must be the paramount power in the Indian peninsula, and that the native Princes should not retain political independence beyond their sovereign frontiers.

In addition to the problems raised by disrupted native states, during Wellesley's régime Napoleon was in Egypt, fired with ambition to repeat the eastern conquests of Alexander the Great. No man knew in what direction this military genius might turn his hitherto unconquered legions. France at that time, and for many years after, filled the menacing position later occupied by Russia. French adventurers led many armies of the Mahrattas. French intrigue and French desire for conquest still prevailed in Europe, America, and India. Only by the perspective of history do we know that these French aspirations were never to be realized because of British resistance.

Wellesley consolidated a great Indian confederacy with himself as leader. He bound the rulers of the Native States not to take any European into their service without the consent of the English Government, a clause since inserted in every engagement entered into with native powers. He succeeded in cementing unified control from the coasts as far north as Benares. Later he extended the Company's territories into the heart of the present United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, his army being led by his brother, Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterward Duke of Wellington). He established the supremacy of the English as suzerains of India.

The financial strain caused by Lord Wellesley's activities had annoyed the unappreciative directors of the Company who felt that he had acted in the interests of empire rather than of the profits of trade, so they returned Lord Cornwallis, now an old man, broken in health, as Governor-General for the second time in 1805. He died ten weeks after his arrival in Calcutta.

The Earl of Minto was Viceroy from 1807 to 1813. He consolidated the conquests of Lord Wellesley. His only military exploits were the occupation of the island of Mauritius and the conquest of Java. The condition of central India continued disturbed, but no movements necessitated recourse to the sword. The Company had ordered Lord Minto to carry out a policy of non-intervention and he was able to follow this instruction without detriment to British prestige or power. He opened diplomatic relations with foreign kingdoms, sending ambassadors to the courts of the Punjab, Afghanistan and Persia. These missions, which closely resembled embassies of empire, widened the sphere of British influence. In 1813 the East India Company's charter was renewed for twenty years, but its monopoly as a trading company with India was abolished.

Lord Moira, later the Marquess of Hastings, was successor of Lord Minto. During his nine years of governing, three wars were successfully waged, the campaigns against the Gurkhas of Nepal,* the Pindaris and the Mahrattas.

Organized upon a feudal basis, the Gurkhas had become a terror to all the principalities of India. When they had killed a number of British it became necessary to check their advance. The British were at first worsted by the impetuous bravery of the Gurkhas, whose heavy knives dealt terrible execution. The malarious climate and precipitous hills were additional natural difficulties. There were bitter fighting and many losses before the English brought them to terms. By the treaty of Segauli, which defines the British relations with Nepal to the present day, the Gurkhas withdrew from the south of Sikkim and from their posts in the southwest in the outer ranges of the Himalayas. The health-giving resorts of Naini Tal, Mussooree and Simla are in the territories the Company acquired by this treaty. To-day the sturdy Gurkhas are fervent allies of the English, 19,000 being employed in the Indian army, and many composing the bodyguards of the Governors of the British Indian Provinces.

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*An independent but tiny kingdom north of Bengal. Mr. Brian H. Hodgson, who lived in Nepal from 1820 to 1844, made extensive researches which resulted in a vast compendium of invaluable and fascinating chronicles. Many of his records reveal the peculiarly interesting character of the interaction of Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism as living religions and social systems.

The Pindaris were lawless tribes of freebooters who plundered the country, sometimes in bands of a few hundreds, sometimes of many thousands. On their forays they rode as far as the opposite coasts of Madras and of Bombay. Of no common race or religion, they welcomed to their riffraff ranks the outlaws and outcasts of broken tribes—Afghans, Mahrattas and Jats. They were the debris of all India and central Asia. For a time it seemed as if these anarchist banditti would lay waste the whole Indian continent. Butchers and pillagers like the Tartars, they had no desire to settle and govern. Like swarms of locusts they destroyed and wasted whatever province seemed to promise plunder. The cruelties they perpetrated were beyond belief. Even their women were hardy and masculine, usually riding on forays on small horses or camels. "They were more dreaded by the villagers than the men, whom they exceeded in cruelty and rapacity."*

The Pindari incursions lay waste native states in all sectors and finally assaulted the trading posts. James Tod, during his memorable term of service as the Company's agent in Rajputana from 1812 to 1823, recorded the havoc wrought by them: "Udaipur, which formerly reckoned fifty thousand houses within the walls, had not now three thousand houses occupied, the rest were in ruin." The Hindu Rajas of Rajputana appealed to the British merchants to come to their rescue from these outlaws, the majority of whom were Mahrattas and therefore defamed (at that time) Hindus.

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*H. T. Prinsep, "History," i, 39.

Lord Hastings assembled the largest army the British had ever commanded in India, a force of 120,000 sepoys. One-half operated from the north, the other half from the south. The Pindaris were completely subdued and finally disbanded, freeing the whole of the Indian peoples, as well as the traders, from a massacring menace.

In the same year (1817) that the Pindaris were crushed, the three great Mahratta powers at Poona, Nagpur and Indore rose separately against the English. The British victory over all three in pitched battle resulted in the cession of more districts as reparation for the costs of suppression, as well as their agreement to submit all future disputes to the decision of the British. The dominions of the Peshwa (Mahratta Chieftain) were annexed to the Bombay Presidency, and the nucleus of the present Central Provinces was formed out of the territory received from the Pindaris. The Peshwa himself surrendered and was permitted to reside near Cawnpore on a pension of £80,000 a year. His adopted son was the infamous Nana Sahib of the Mutiny of 1857.

At the same time, the Rajputana States accepted the position of feudal powers under paramount British rule. The benefit of English protection to these independent provinces can be judged when we read further in James Tod's account that:

> Within eight months subsequent to the signature of the treaty [with the British] about 300 towns and villages were simultaneously reinhabited and the land, which for many years had been a stranger to the ploughshare, was broken up. The chief commercial mart, Bhilwara, which showed not a vestige of humanity, rapidly rose from ruin, and in a few months contained 1,200 houses, half of which were occupied by foreign merchants.

Thus the British agents won peace and prosperity for the Hindu peoples. This new map of India remained substantially unchanged until the years immediately before 1858 when Great Britain assumed the Company's suzerainty.

Sir Thomas Munro, whose letter to his sister we have already read, was perhaps the wisest of the many brilliant officers who served Lord Hastings. Sir Thomas instituted many notable improvements of administration, particularly in regard to land taxes. To give a general idea of his work we shall mention only one statute which was typical:

> The registered occupant of each field deals directly with Government, and so long as he pays the assessment he is entitled to hold the land forever and cannot be ejected by Government, though he himself may, in any year, increase or diminish his holding or entirely abandon it; should the land be required for a public purpose, it must be bought at 15 per cent above the market value. Inheritance, transfer, mortgage, sale and lease are without restriction; private improvements involve no addition, either present or future, to the assessment.*

Never had Indian rule permitted such rights of citizen ownership.

The Marquess of Hastings was succeeded by Lord Amherst (1823–1828). During this administration the first Burmese War occurred. For years the eastern frontier of Bengal had been disturbed by Burmese raids. The war was protracted for two years during which the British forces lost 20,000 men, chiefly because of the pestilent climate and the overland attack by the Bengal sepoys, who refused to go by sea because of Hindu canons. Two Burmese provinces were acquired at this time, and twenty-six years later, on the termination of the second Burmese War, the remainder of Burma was annexed.

The seven-year régime of Lord William Bentinct, successor of Lord Amherst, constitutes an epoch of admirable and benevolent efforts of a merchant company to free a multitudinous people from self-inquisition.

Lord Bentinct's arrival heralded a thirty-year campaign of spirited endeavor to abolish the cruel and barbarous practices of suttee, female infanticide, mutilation and torture, the suppression of the Thagi and human sacrifice in religious rituals. Every one of these practices had been enshrined in Hindu opinion by sanctity of Brahmanic practice or acceptance.

On December 4, 1829, the Governor carried regulation XVII in council, which decreed the abetting of suttee to be

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*"Imperial Gazetteer of India" (1908), XVI, 318.

"culpable homicide," equivalent to "manslaughter" in English law; and the compulsion of the rite against the free will of the victim to be an offense of first-degree murder punishable by death. This enactment was carried in the teeth of strenuous opposition by English members who feared to forcibly violate the religious practices of Hinduism, and by Indians who assailed such interference as tyrannical and despotic. In the Province of Orissa alone, intensive effort was expended by the British for seventeen years before they could put an end to a multitude of fiendish practices. To this day individual cases of torture and sacrifice persistently occur.

The repression of the Thagi (or thugs), who were hereditary assassins by right of caste, making strangling their profession, was another humane coercion. These thugs travelled in gangs, banded together by an oath based on the rites of bloody Kali, the Hindu goddess of fear and terror.* By 1835 as many as 1,562 Thagi had been apprehended and prosecuted. This moral plague was gradually stamped out so that few instances occur to-day.

The effect of these years of ardent warring against savagery which was sanctioned or required by native religions, provoked intense reactions which have been far-reaching in results. In the Indian minds it instilled a fervent hatred of the Christians, who denied and forbade the perpetration of venerated customs which these unenlightened souls believed would free them from affliction by their gods; or it established a foundation of deep respect for the unselfish humanity of these foreign rulers.

In the English minds it instigated a feeling of self-righteousness or scorn for the masses of peoples who refused and rebelled against the clemency of the administrators, and who joyfully returned to self-torturing practices as soon as the English lessened their restraining vigilance; or it stirred a beneficent pity for a degraded people. The Indian despised the English as oppressive tyrants, or else he reverenced them for their benignity. The English either scorned the wilfully ignorant and insistently sadistic Indians, or were filled with compassion for their hopeless unmorality. None of the reactions were conducive to democratic fellowship. Mutual regard and genuine intimacy of friendship have existed from that day to this between individual Englishmen and Indians; but there has been little class co-operation as man to man, or race to race.

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*Kali's principal shrine is in Calcutta. Animals are daily slaughtered on her altars by Hindu priests in place of human victims, due only to the continuous and uncompromising insistence of British surveillance.

This spiritual and mental detachment by the governing British has resulted in isolated instances of high-handed customs and overt acts, but it has created on the whole an impartial and neutral justice of administration, and the merciful and pacific adjustment and settlement of bitter and internecine communal controversies which have incessantly scourged all India since the beginning of time.*

The history of the British as benevolent guardians of the Indian peoples may almost be said to begin with Lord Bentinct's administration. Mr. Ranga Iyer justly observes:

> But even the most sceptical and the least generous of critics cannot deny the effect in India, however remote, of the Liberal upheaval in England. This is discernible in the Charter Act of 1833, which is a reflex of the democratic progress in England, which crystallized in the Parliamentary reforms of 1832.
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> It may be urged by the critic that the Parliamentary reforms of 1832 gave so much to England and the Charter Act of 1833 so little to India. The forces which were at work in England were absent in India, and therefore it was natural that India should not share these benefits to the same degree as England, but undeniably the new reforms in England had their repercussions in India.
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> England derived from the New Model Parliament benefits such as the Poor Law of 1834, which brought untold relief to the working classes, and the municipal reforms, which made local self-government a reality. To India the first reformed Parliament gave the Charter Act of 1833. And throughout the empire, in the same year, slavery

J. N. Gupta, M.A., C.I.E., I.C.S., an outstanding Hindu who has served for over thirty years in the Bengal Government, first as District officer and later as Divisional Commissioner, writes on page 267 of his "Foundations of National Progress": "In our just indignation against the discourteous and unsympathetic conduct of some Europeans in this country against which Lord Morley inveighed in such eloquent terms, we are apt to saddle the Government with the sole responsibility for actions of individuals with whom the Government have very little to do. . . . Even the occasional lapses in the adminiswas abolished; thanks to Wilberforce and the Evangelicals, whose parish was the world and whose constituency was humanity.

The spirit of equality, fraternity, and humanity which animated the liberation of the slaves within the British Empire, also inspired the Act of 1833. It anticipated the Queen's proclamation of 1858.

This strong and clear declaration of equality of status and opportunity, be the King's subjects Indian or British, was worthy of the new faith in democracy which had come to dwell in old England. No better apostle of that faith could there be than Macaulay, who threw open to India the floodgates of Western education in this famous Minute of February 2, 1835. India's contact with the main stream of the world's thought and learning was bound to change her face and outlook. That was Macaulay's set purpose. That was England's mission in India.†

Lord Bentinct not only restored Indian finances to an efficient basis, but he opened the gates by which Indians could enter the official service of the Company, many of his rulings being distinctly distasteful to the covenanted service and to English army officers. His staunch stand was supported by Company Directors and the Ministry in England.

The inscription upon Lord Bentinct's statue at Calcutta, from the pen of Macaulay, pays just tribute to this philanthropist:

> He abolished cruel rites; he effaced humiliating destructions; he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; his constant study was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge.

Lord Metcalfe followed this illustrious governorship, and in his brief term of two years not only strengthened the executive acts of his predecessor, but established full rights of freedom and liberty to the press.

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tration which are likely to occur and which do actually occur at any time and in any country, should not blind us to the obvious and many-sided blessings of the British connection and the soundness and liberality of the great principles which have been the keynote of the British administration in this country."

*This enactment preceded Abraham Lincoln's American Proclamation of Emancipation by thirty years.

†"India, Peace or War?" pages 18 and 19, by C. S. Ranga Iyer, member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, author of "Father India" and "India in the Crucible."

Lord Auckland was the next Governor-General for six years. This régime commenced anew an era of war and conquest which was not terminated for two decades.

For the first time since the days of the Sultans of Ghazni and Ghor, a national dynasty, the Duranis, had been established in Afghanistan in 1747. The first Durani, a resolute soldier, was made king following the death of the Persian conqueror of Afghanistan and devastator of India (in 1739), Nadir Shah. The intervention of this Durani King on the battlefield of Panipat, in 1761, had turned back the tide of Mahratta onslaughts and secured the overwhelming victory of the Afghans and the replacement of a Moslem emperor on the throne of Delhi. The Durani never cared to settle in India, and ruled alternately at his two Afghan capitals, Kabul and Kandahar. In 1826 Dost Mohammed, head of a rival family, succeeded in usurping the throne of Kabul, forcing two Durani brothers to escape into the Punjab, where they lived under British protection.

While Lord Wellesley was Governor (1798–1805) he had feared that one of the Duranis, who were occupying Lahore (Punjab), might follow in the footsteps of the first of the dynasty and overrun Hindustan. But the growth in the intervening territory of the powerful Sikh kingdom, which had risen in the north of India, gradually dispelled these fears. Subsequently, in 1809, as a protective move against a threatened French invasion of India, Lord Minto sent the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone (distinguished historian and Governor of Bombay) on a mission to a Durani brother, with the purpose of forming a defensive alliance. Before a year expired the English ally Durani was driven into exile and a third brother occupied the Afghan throne.

In 1847, when the curtain rises upon the drama of English interference in Afghanistan, the usurper, Dost Mohammed, was firmly established at Kabul. His burning ambition was to recover Peshawar from the Sikhs. When Captain Burnes arrived on a mission from Lord Auckland with the ostensible purpose of opening trade, the Dost was willing to promise anything if he could win in return British co-operation, or even British neutrality, in his conquest of Peshawar. Lord Auckland had an ulterior and more important motive in sending Captain Burnes as envoy. At this time the Russians were advancing rapidly into central Asia (only Afghanistan lies between Russia and India) and a Persian army, supported by Russia, was besieging Herat, a military bulwark of eastern Afghanistan. A Russian ambassador was already at the Dost's court when Captain Burnes arrived on his mission, which proved unsuccessful, for he was unable to meet the innumerable demands. Lord Auckland therefore determined on a hazardous plan of placing a more co-operative ruler upon the throne of Kabul, partly as a protection against Russian aggression* and partly against Afghan invasion of India. He chose Shah Shuja, one of the two royal Durani exiles, for the post. At this time both the Punjab and the Sind were independent kingdoms, lying between the British-governed territories and Afghanistan. Sind, as the least powerful of the two, was chosen as the path of English advance into Afghanistan. The British succeeded in capturing Kandahar as well as Ghazni. Dost fled across the Hindu Kush mountains and the English triumphantly placed Shah Shuja on the Afghan throne.

But although the British could enthrone Shah Shuja, they could not win for him the favor of the Afghans. Captain Burnes was assassinated in Kabul, during the two years of British occupation of Afghanistan. The English political officer was treacherously murdered during a conference with the Afghan chief, Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mohammed. After vainly attempting adjustment, the British army of 4,000 fighting men with 12,000 camp-followers set out in the middle of winter to return to India through the Khyber under a fallacious guarantee of safe convoy from the Afghan chiefs. There was one survivor from these 16,000 men. Those who did not perish in the snows of the defile, or from the Afghan massacres, died from effects of the cold. A few prisoners, chiefly women and children and officers, were honorably treated by Akbar Khan.

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*The Crimean war of Russia against England and France for eastern supremacy was begun twelve years later.

In his "Brief History of the Indian Peoples," which is taught at the University of Calcutta, Sir W. W. Hunter observes on pages 211–212:

> The first Afghan enterprise, begun in a spirit of aggression, and conducted amid dissensions and mismanagement, had ended in the disgrace of the British arms. The real loss, which amounted only to a single garrison, was magnified by the horrors of the winter march and by the completeness of the annihilation. Within a month after the news reached Calcutta, Lord Auckland had been superseded by Lord Ellenborough, whose first impulse was to be satisfied with drawing off in safety the garrisons from Kandahar and Jalalabad. But bolder counsels were forced upon him.

Marching into Afghanistan, new forces recovered the British prisoners held by Akbar Khan, blasted the Kabul bazar, and marched back to India, leaving Dost Mohammed to take undisputed possession. Sir W. W. Hunter continues:

> The drama closed with a bombastic proclamation from Lord Ellenborough, who had caused the gates from the tomb of Mahmud of Ghazni to be carried back as a memorial of "Somnath revenged." The gates were a modern forgery; and their theatrical procession through the Punjab formed a vainglorious sequel to Lord Ellenborough's timidity while the fate of our armies hung in the balance.
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> Lord Ellenborough, who loved military pomp, had his tastes gratified by two more wars. In 1843, the Mohammedan rulers of Sind, known as the Mirs or Amirs, whose chief fault was that they would not surrender their independence, were crushed by Sir Charles Napier. The victory of Miani, in which 3,000 British troops defeated 12,000 Baluchis, is one of the brilliant feats of arms in Anglo-Indian history. But valid reasons can scarcely be found for the annexation of the country.

In 1844 Lord Ellenborough was recalled by the Directors of the Company who distrusted his erratic genius. He was succeeded by Sir Henry (later Lord) Hardinge, an eminent veteran of Indian wars. During his governorship the British clashed with the one remaining Hindu power in India, the great Sikh peoples, who until recent years have been trusted and fervent allies of the British.

The Sikhs are clans of a reformed Hindu sect, bound together by the additional tie of military discipline. They are not a race, but a brotherhood. They trace their origin to a pious Hindu reformer born near Lahore in 1469. This zealous radical preached the abolition of caste, the unity of a single God and the duty of leading a pure life. Cruelly persecuted by the ruling Moslems, almost exterminated by the miserable successors of Aurangzeb and abhorred by orthodox Hindus, the Sikhs clung to their principles with unflinching zeal. The collapse of the Moghul Empire transformed the sect into a territorial power. The virile Sikhs in the north, and the vandal Mahrattas in the south and central parts of India, were the native powers who partitioned the empire.

Several Sikh clans established feudal principalities, some of which endure to this day, along the banks of the Sutlej.*

The founder of the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab, Ranjit Singh (1780–1839), formulated the plan of building up his control by means of the religious fanaticism of the Sikhs, who had developed into scorners alike of Hindu caste-ridden peoples and of proselyting and war-loving Moslems. He organized the Sikhs into an army which for courageous steadiness and religious fervor has never been surpassed.

By 1845 the Sikh legions had so developed in power that they determined on conquest. Sixty thousand men with 150 guns crossed the Sutlej and invaded British territory. In four pitched battles the losses were exceedingly heavy on both sides, but the last resulted in victory for the British and the surrender of Lahore, the Sikh capital.† The treaty granted an annexation of a tract of territory, limitation of Sikh armament and the recognition of a Sikh heir as Raja.

Three years later the Sikhs broke this treaty and massacred two British officers. Again fierce warfare resulted in many losses and British victory. The Punjab was annexed by proclamation in 1849 and £58,000 a year was granted the Raja as a pension on which he lived for many years in Norfolk, England.

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*The Maharajah of Patiala, who is Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and the Maharajah of Kapurthala, a well-known figure in Paris at smart gatherings, are two of the best-known Sikh rulers.

†Lahore was the Sikh political capital. Amritsar has always been their religious centre.

As soon as this Province was added to British suzerainty, a general disarmament was carried out, followed by a settlement of the land tax, village by village, identical with the system used in the rest of British India, the new assessments imposing lower rates than those under Sikh rule; and an equitable code of civil and criminal law was instituted. Roads and canals were laid out which increased the wealth of industry. Security of peace and personal influence and supervision of British officers inaugurated an hitherto unknown era of prosperity. When the Sepoy mutiny erupted eight years later, the Punjab remained not only quiescent but loyal. The Sikhs provided some of the best recruits in the British defense and gave material assistance to British restoration of authority. There are few more faithful adherents of British rule in India than these militant people.

The Earl of Dalhousie, who was Governor-General from 1848 to 1856, proved to be one of the greatest of proconsuls. He accomplished more conspicuous results than any Viceroy since Lord Wellesley, perhaps even since Clive. A "high-minded statesman, of a most sensitive conscience, and earnestly desiring peace, Lord Dalhousie found himself forced against his will to fight two wars and to embark on a policy of annexation."* These wars were the second Burmese campaign and the second Sikh war, which we have already studied.

Lord Dalhousie's deepest interest was the advancement of moral and material conditions in India. He instituted the administration of the newly acquired Punjab and laid the foundation of progressive government in Burma which has resulted in such conspicuous success. He founded the Public Works Department, with the object of constructing the network of highways and canals which now thread all India; opened the Ganges Canal, a stupendous accomplishment of British progress; and turned the sod for the first Indian railway. He introduced inexpensive and efficient postal and telegraph communications. These achievements would have been impossible for any but a European authority in a country where even in this day, in spite of universal advantages of public education and intercommunication, 86 per cent of the men and 98 per cent of the women are not literate in any of the 222 dialects and tongues that are spoken in India.

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*Sir W. W. Hunter, "History of British India," page 214.

This super-eminent statesman held that rulers should govern only so long as they worked solely for the benefit of the ruled. He applied this axiom to every act of his own life and attempted to instill this principle in the governments of the feudal Native States where the chiefs had full autonomy to abuse their position and oppress their subjects. A remedy for this state of affairs, which enforced a higher standard of personal responsibility by the feudatory princes, was later evolved by Queen Victoria, but there was no time for Lord Dalhousie to complete his own endeavors in this direction.

Before his retirement he annexed the Province of Oudh, which had been protected by British arms from foreign invasion and domestic rebellion ever since Lord Clive returned the previously forfeited province to the Nawab of Oudh in 1765. Freed from responsibility, the Oudh dynasty had sunk deeper and deeper into debauchees and oppressors. Their one virtue was steady loyalty to their protector, the British. Again and again the Governor-General had warned the Princes against their cruelties which ground their peoples under tyranny. Widespread anarchy was the inevitable result of the refusal of the Nawabs to heed this advice. The annexation and direct surveillance and administration of Oudh, which had been threatened by the benevolent Bentinct and the soldierly Hardinge, were now undertaken by Lord Dalhousie. Having laid the problems before the Company's directors with the result of hesitant approval, this man of high purpose and stern decision of character felt it would be unfair to bequeath this perilous task to his successor in the beginning of his rule. The tardy decision of the directors arrived only a few weeks before Lord Dalhousie's retirement went into effect, but he solemnly believed the annexation to be his duty to the people of Oudh. Fearful of war, but assured of the justice of his task, he wrote privately:

> "With this feeling on my mind, and in humble reliance on the blessing of the Almighty (for millions of His creatures will draw freedom and happiness from the change), I approach the execution of this duty gravely and not without solicitude, but calmly and altogether without doubt." He ordered the assumption of control over Oudh on the ground that "The British Government would be guilty in the sight of God and man if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by its countenance an administration fraught with suffering to millions."

Lord Dalhousie's fears were not immediately realized. The people of Oudh accepted the change without a blow, although the Nawab furiously rebelled but finally retired to England in the enjoyment of a pension of £120,000 a year.

Lord Dalhousie was only forty-four years old when he returned home, but he carried with him the seeds of a lingering illness which resulted in his death soon after. Lord Cornwallis was the first, Lord Dalhousie was the second, of a long line of English statesmen who have given their lives as a result of devotion to Indian problems.

This super-eminent Governor-General was succeeded in 1856 by his friend, Lord Canning, who, at the farewell banquet given him in England by the Company's directors, spoke these prophetic words: "I wish for a peaceful term of office. But I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, no larger than a man's hand, but which growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin." One year later the Gangetic valley from Patna to Delhi was enveloped in mutinous flames.

THE LAST STAND OF THE COMPANY

The Sepoy Mutiny burst into eruption in May, 1857, after sporadic uprisings since the previous February. The causes were various, but all were typical of India in 1857 and characteristic of India in 1931.

Native opinion was in a ferment and native judgement predisposed to credit the wildest rumours. Paroxysms of panic have ever run through Asiatic people like wildfire in an autumn forest. The rumors spread that the British had been vanquished by the Russians in the Crimea, where war was then raging. British prestige vanished. Spasms of fear and hatred had constantly convulsed the Hindus ever since the enforcement of the reforms and abolition of native rites and customs. The most enlightened efforts of the British, such as the annexation of Oudh, the establishment of schools, the installation of steam engines and telegraph wires, were, in Indian judgement, the iniquitous and pernicious persecutions of tyrants. Ignorance and superstition gave credence to the alarms of the agitators, who loudly damned these Western devices as kinds of magic designed to humiliate and crush the natives.

The civil and soldier population were shot through with terror by the belief that the British were preparing to force Christianity upon them. The memory of the perpetration of Islam upon the Hindus during the Moslem régime was a vivid welt across the peoples' soul. The fear that their religion was at stake was the most repercussive element of the insurrection.

To comprehend this surging tide of alarm we must realize that these peoples had had no contact with the world beyond India save with the Moslem conquerors and the Christian traders. Every law of caste, every canon of Hindu religion, was violated by these two creeds. To the popular mind a Mohammedan was a circumcised, beef-eating person who forced his doctrines upon unbelievers by the sword. A Christian was an "unclean" man who ate beef as well as pork and consumed strong drink, the last two being carnal sins to both Hindus and Moslems. The Christians were not only "Untouchables," but they observed no rules of ceremonial purity and diet, rites which were (and are) sacred to both Hinduism and Islam. Christian women displayed their faces in public and did not commit suttee. The most sacred principles of Christianity were the most sordid sins to the Indian peoples.

In 1856 Lord Canning instituted a law that decreed the right of Hindu widows to remarry. This statute and the new zeal in behalf of education (which was largely in the hands of Christian missionaries) proved to be sparks from flint to the tinder of their hatred.

There were some genuine causes for dissatisfaction. The Company had not sufficiently opened the higher posts in its service to natives of suitable education, ability, and fidelity, although many lower grades of appointments had been awarded to Indians. The sepoy troops were mercenary contingents and should not have been expected to give entirely loyal service for the often inadequate pay they received. The general service enlistment Act of 1856 added fuel to their vexation, as all future recruits in Bengal were made liable for service outside the Company's dominions without extra pay. This rule had always existed in the Madras and Bombay armies, but now it was extended for the first time to include the Bengal sepoys, who were high-caste Hindus who would lose their caste status if they were taken over the sea (the dreaded and forbidden Kala Pani, or black water) to Persia as reinforcements against the Russians.

There were no politically malcontented States although there was a vague apprehension in the civil population at large, a cumulative effect of transactions and transfers of governmental authority which were incomprehensible to them.

The chiefs of all the larger Native States remained faithful to the British even when their own troops showed signs of contagious revolt. But the Kings of Delhi and Oudh were Mohammedans who considered themselves the natural Kings of India and likely to profit by the ejection of the British, while the Rani of Jhansi and Nana Sahib were Mahratta Hindus who had practically vanquished the Moslems, when the British intervened in 1803. They fervently believed they could successfully continue their immolations of the Mohammedans providing the British were wiped out. Thus the leaders of the two most war-loving Indian races, of bitterly opposing faiths, were anxious to crush the restraining power of the British so that they might fight out their jealousies, with India as stake. They were only too anxious to take advantage of the sepoys' seething resentment and mutiny.

The few English officers remaining in India handled the situation unwisely. Sir Henry Lawrence had voiced on numerous occasions the unfitness of many British officers for the difficult task of controlling men of different races and religions, further declaring that "the employment of brigadiers of seventy, colonels of sixty and captains of fifty is bound to end in disaster."

In the midst of this critical state of affairs, with Moghul, Mahratta, Moslem and Hindu Princes and soldiers desirous of inciting insurrections, there occurred the famous cartridge incident which ignited the dynamite of revolution.

A new Enfield rifle having been issued to the sepoys, the criminally careless blunder of smearing the cartridges with grease of pigs was committed. The touch of any product of swine is earnestly believed to condemn the users to everlasting hell, so defiling are these animals to Hindus and Moslems alike. The sepoys believed this was both premeditated insult and coercive conversion to the ranks of Christianity.

The storm broke, its repercussions resounding throughout the lengths and breadths of India. Defenseless women and children, and off-guard English soldiers were massacred in scattered garrisons. The Sikhs wavered little in devotion to the British, many of them enlisting in the ranks of the pitifully few Britishers. The Gurkhas were likewise faithful. Cawnpore, Delhi and Lucknow were the centres of the bitterest fighting and the direst hardships, due largely to their inland and therefore pregnable position. A force en route to China was diverted to Calcutta, and two regiments from Persia and other British troops from Burma, Ceylon and Singapore were rushed to the same port, as well as loyal sepoys from Madras. But the railway extended only 120 miles toward the stricken garrisons. Beyond the rail end the troops were compelled to march under a scorching, death-striking summer sun, with all their munitions and food, over a stretch of 800 miles to Delhi.

At Cawnpore, General Wheeler was besieged with a small detachment which was forced to surrender to Nana Sahib,* the infamous traitor who had lived for years under British protection. Although he had given assurances of impunity to the little garrison, he immediately butchered the men and temporarily held the women and children prisoners. A small force of British, with loyal native enforcements, was hurrying to the rescue across blistering stretches of plains when they learned of the massacre of the men but the survival of the women and children. Although they had already covered twenty-two miles in the intensive summer heat, these intrepid soldiers spurred themselves on for another fourteen miles through the night, and attacked the mutineers in three separate actions. The gallant attackers won a victory but only to find they were too late. Nana Sahib had by then slaughtered the women and children.

Fighting against vast odds, the English forces, supported by admirably faithful sepoys (without whom it is doubtful whether a white man in the whole of India would have survived), encountered ravages of fever, cholera and heat, as well as violent onslaughts.

The defense and relief of Delhi, Lucknow and several smaller garrisons were other heroic epics in military history. Only God-given strength could have inspired such surpassing accomplishments of the defenders against such unparalleled hardships and enormous odds.

The Hindu fakir who had prophesied that Company rule would come to an end a hundred years after Plassey, was not in error. On the 1st of November, 1858, Lord Canning proclaimed the end of the mutiny, the close of Company administration and the assumption of responsibility of government by the British Crown.

The March to Commonwealth

Since that momentous year when Queen Victoria issued her proclamation of promise to the Indian peoples, many benefits have been bestowed by Western rule.

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*Adopted son of the former Peshwa Mahratta chieftain. See page 184.

We have studied in broad outline the growth of dominion of a Company of shop-keepers and commercial servants who acquired trade and territory, and gave opportunities for progress and prosperity to a people who had never known peace.

We have not merely generalized this story, for it provides a keener insight into Indian character and English creeds than the particularized records of strong control by the liberal government that followed the Company's régime. If the Indian peoples as a whole, and not merely militant groups, had desired to expel the English traders, they could have wiped out the entire settlements with concerted effort even as the 360,000,000 natives can to-day destroy the 60,000 soldiers and 3,500 civil servants of English birth if they so desire. If the English were natively avaricious or naturally tyrannical, the years of solely commercial activities would have given them free rein to display these traits; for a mercantile enterprise is consistently more selfish and less conscientious in its transactions than the responsible administration of a democratic empire. We have therefore focused our searchlight of investigation on the deeds that *led* to rule by British Parliament and Crown.

We shall not need to follow the successive steps of British rule to present government. The territory under British suzerainty has not altered in area, but the judicature of that territory has moved steadily toward federalization in self-evident advance. To read Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858, and to peruse the present statutes, is proof that progress toward self-rule has been earnestly and honorably propelled by British Ministers.

"We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions," assured the Queen, "and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

"We shall respect the rights, dignity and honor of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social government which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favored, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship or any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

"We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administrating the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India."

These promises have been and still are being fulfilled.

British India, which comprises that part of the Asian peninsula that is directly under British rule, is governed in the name of the people of Great Britain represented by the British Crown and Parliament.

The supreme authority in India, subject to the Secretary of State,* is vested in the Viceroy, or Governor-General, and his Council of seven members who form "The Government of India." The Council Members are in charge of Home; Finance; Railways and Commerce; Army; Education, Health and Lands; Industries and Labor; and Law. The last three posts are filled by Indians. The Viceroy is appointed by the Crown for a term of five years. His Council, or Cabinet, are similarly appointed for the same term of office.

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*Minister in the Cabinet of the British Premier.

The Viceroy is endowed with special powers, functions and duties which are normally carried out with the guidance and concurrence of the Members of his Executive Council, but in cases of emergency he can over-rule the recommendations of that Council, in which case any two Members of the dissenting majority may ask that the matter be reported to the Secretary of State, and that report may be accompanied by copies of the minutes made by Members of the Council. The Viceroy can disregard the opinions of the Legislature and can insist on the passing of legislative Bills which have been rejected by either or both chambers of the Legislature by certifying that such passage is "essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India or any part thereof." On his own responsibility he can authorize such expenditure as he thinks necessary to maintain the safety and tranquillity of British India or any part thereof. In the instance of certain classes of Bills, both in the central and provincial legislatures, his previous sanction is required before they may be considered. He may withhold his assent to any Bill, central or provincial, or reserve such Bill for His Majesty's pleasure. In times of emergency he may personally pass an ordinance having effect for not more than six months. He can extend the life of the Legislature if he thinks necessary, and can dissolve either or both of its chambers if crises arise that he believes to be threatening to maintenance of peace or order. These legal prerogatives are conferred for the purpose of averting serious exigencies. As the Simon Commission Report states,* "Only four times since the Reforms (instituted in 1919) has the Viceroy's power of certification been made use of and never yet has the premature dissolution of the Indian Legislature been required."

The Viceroy is also in direct personal charge of the relations of India with foreign countries, and of British India with the various Indian States. Previous to 1929, the Indian Princes dealt with the Governor-General in Council, but the Princes expressed their strong desires to the Butler Committee* to be placed in direct relationship with the Viceroy himself, which is high proof of the confidence felt in the Governor-General rather than in a mixed body of British and Indians. Normally the Viceroy does not interfere in the internal affairs of the Indian States, and only in cases of grave misgovernment or in political agitations that threaten to disturb the peace of India does he assume the active responsibility of equitable adjustment.

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*Vol. 1, page 178.

The Viceroy's Council corresponds to our President's Cabinet. The Home Department includes the subjects of the Civil Service, Police and Prisons, and judicial matters as far as these subjects are the concern of the Central Government. In short, it has general control of internal affairs and oversight over internal politics. The Finance Department handles matters relating to Taxation, Currency, Mints, Banking; while Customs and Excise are administered by a Board of Inland Revenue under this Department. The Railways and Commerce Department also has charge of Trade and Shipping. The Army Department is under the charge of the Commander-in-Chief. It controls Army Headquarters as well as a civil department which performs functions roughly analogous to those of the British civil secretariat of the Secretary of State for War. The Department of Education, Health and Lands oversees Schools, Universities, Local Self-Government, Public Health, Land Revenue, Surveys, Forests, Agricultural Development and Famine Relief in so far as these things touch central administration and responsibility, and also deals with questions concerning the position of Indians in other parts of the empire.

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*The Indian States Committee was appointed in December, 1927, to investigate the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States and to make recommendations for the adjustment of financial and economic relations between British India and the States. The Committee, which made its report early in 1929, is usually referred to as the Butler Committee, as its Chairman was Sir Harcourt Butler, formerly Governor in turn of the United Provinces and of Burma, and previously a member of the Governor-General's Council.

The Industries and Labor Department has charge of Factories, Mines, Public Works, Post and Telegraphs, Irrigation and Civil Aviation. The Law Member is the head of the Legislative Department, and is responsible for the drafting of Government Bills, and advises the government on many legal questions. While there is no statutory limit to the number of members of the Council, the practice has been to appoint seven, of whom three are Indians.

The qualifications for these Members, who are appointed by warrant of the Crown, are solely that three of them must be persons who have been for at least ten years in the service of the Crown in India, and one must be of not less than ten years' standing as a barrister of England or Ireland, or as a member of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, or as a pleader of an Indian High Court. Each of the Council is a member of one or other chamber of the Indian Legislature, and has also the right of attending in, and addressing, the chamber to which he does not belong.

The Viceroy and his Council, or Governor-General in Council is the usual appellation, compose what is known as The Central Government. None of these Members, including the Viceroy, are constitutionally "responsible" to the Central Legislature. In other words, no vote of that Legislature can bring about a change in its composition, but the influence exerted by the Indian Legislature upon the acts and policies of the Central Government is very strong. According to the third formula of the Montague Chelmsford Report, the Governor-General in Council "must remain wholly responsible to Parliament." The Viceroy acts in all matters in the name of the Crown and Parliament, through the mouthpiece of the Secretary of State for India, who is a member of the British Cabinet. Therefore the ultimate responsibility for the security and peace of India rests upon the British Parliament.*

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*"In constitutional theory, the Government of India is a subordinate official government under His Majesty's Government, though in actual practice this relation of agency is qualified by the extent to which (1) authority is left in the hands of the Government of India to be exercised without reference to, or orders from, the Secretary of State, and (2) influence is exerted by the Indian Legislature upon the acts and policies of the Central Executive." [Indian Statutory Committee Report; vol. 1, pages 174–5.] On page

The Indian Legislature is composed of the Viceroy and two Chambers: The Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The first Chamber has 60 members of whom 33 are elected and 27 nominated. Twenty of the nominated members may be government officials,* but not more than 17 officials are nominated at present. The second Chamber, or Assembly, has 145 members, of whom 104 are elected and 41 nominated. Twenty-six of the nominated members may be officials, while the rest are named to represent such minorities as the Christian converts.

The life of the Council is five years and that of the Assembly three years. These two bodies, which jointly compose the Central Legislature, just as our Senate and House of Representatives compose our Central Legislature or Congress, have the

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180 of the same volume, the duties of the Secretary of State for India are defined. He is "The immediate agent of Parliament for the discharge of its responsibilities in Indian affairs, and the Government of India Act prescribes his powers and so defines the region within which he may be held to account by Parliament. The Secretary of State is authorized by the Act to superintend, direct and control all acts, operations and concerns which relate to the government or the revenues of India; and the Governor-General, and through him the provincial Governments, are required to pay due obedience to the orders of the Secretary of State. The chain of constitutional responsibility is, however, complicated by the existence of the Council of India, which is associated with the Secretary of State in his duties and which has independent powers in certain important matters."

The Council consists of from eight to twelve members who are appointed by the Secretary of State for a term of five years, and half of them must be persons who have long and recent experience in India. A member can be removed from office by His Majesty on an address of both Houses of Parliament.

"At present there are ten members of the Council of India. Of these, six are retired members of the Indian Civil Service, one is the Chairman of one of the great British banks, one was a member of the British commercial community of Calcutta, which he represented for some time in the Assembly, and two are Indian gentlemen who have taken a prominent part in Indian politics. Of the six Civil Service members, one was Home Member of the Government of India, one has been Governor of a province, three have held high office in the financial, political and foreign departments of the service, and one has been a Judge of a Provincial High Court. The last is an Indian."

The powers of the Council have largely to do with the expenditure of Indian Central revenues which, according to statutory provision, "shall . . . be applied for the purposes of the government of India alone"; and section 22 secures that, except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of His Majesty's Indian possessions, Indian revenues cannot be expended on military operations carried on beyond the external frontiers of India without the consent of both Houses of Parliament. This Council, which is divided into committees corresponding to our committees in the House of Representatives, superintend what corresponds to our federal revenues for Federal Government and Defense. It has nothing to do with the Indian Provincial Revenues which correspond to our State taxes.

*"An 'official' within the meaning of the Act, is a person in the whole-time civil or military service of the Crown in India and remunerated as such. He may be in the All-India cadres, like a member of the Indian Civil Service, or in the provincial service. The definition, of course, has nothing to do with race, and both British and Indian officials have been added to the councils. What is involved, therefore, is that certain members of the permanent civil service of the country also perform duties of a parliamentary kind." [Indian Statutory Commission; vol. 1, page 133.]

power, subject to restrictions,* to make all laws for all persons within British India and for Indian subjects of the British Crown.

The Indian Legislature is therefore the full governing body of the Indian peoples so long as its policies and its Bills do not disturb the security and tranquillity of All-India. The restricting functions of the Viceroy are designed to insure peaceful legislation between Hindus, Moslems, and other clashing factions. It is the type of restraint that would be necessary were our Senators and Representatives to enact measures which would cause eruptions of war between our States or with foreign powers. The fact that India has enjoyed peace only since Great Britain has exerted authoritative power and prestige to repulse the constant invasions and to repress the ceaseless internal rivalries that have always stained the chronicles of India's long history; the certainty that half a million armed barbarians are to-day lurking on the northern side of the Khyber, waiting for opportunity to sweep into India and repeat the lengthy records of massacres and pillages; and the data which attests that racial hatreds and communal clashes are as ferocious as they have ever been since the beginnings of Indian annals, are evidence that some restraining influence is imperative for an Indian legislative government to exist, much more operate.

British India is divided into nine major Provinces: Madras; Bombay; and Bengal (which are called Presidencies in honor of their being the first three British areas); the United Provinces; the Punjab; Bihar and Orissia; the Central Provinces; Assam; and Burma. Each Province is administered by a Governor with Executive Council, who acts in conjunction with the Provincial Legislature, which consists of a single chamber† that has an elected non-official majority of 70 per cent in British India and

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*"Restricted" or "reserved" subjects are those which remain under the direct control of the Governor-General and his Cabinet. They include such departments as the Police, Land Revenue and Finance which are comparable to our federal defense and policing and federal taxes as distinct from Province, or State, administration. Transferred subjects are those which are controlled by the Provincial Legislatures and may be compared to our State departments.

†The introduction of a double-chamber system is under advisement at this time in the separate Provinces, whose provincial constitutions vary as do their requirements and desires, as in the case of our own States.

60 per cent in Burma. Not more than 20 per cent may be official members, the remaining quota being composed of nominations and special representatives. The Provincial Legislature has the power, subject to certain specified exceptions, to veto all expenditures. Its life is three years.

There are six minor provinces, of different sizes and orders of importance, which are directly under the control of the Central Government, as our Territories were under federal control until they achieved the sovereignty of States. These six areas together form approximately 3 per cent of the whole, the North-West frontier Province being the most important division.

The qualifications for voters to choose the elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures vary in the several provinces. Due to the low percentage of literacy, the franchise generally rests on a small property ownership. While we Americans did not grant citizenship to our Indians until 1924, though retaining guardianship over them,* the English began in 1861 an expansive measure of self-autonomy which has moved steadily, and at times too rapidly for the comprehension of the masses, from autocracy to democracy.†

The present structure, which presents the unusual case of a government which is avowedly in a state of transition, is based on the Montague-Chelmsford recommendation of 1919. There is much propaganda being spread about the world that these reforms of the Indian Constitution were forced upon the British in payment for Indian assistance during the World War.

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*United States versus Nice, 241 U. S. 598; 1916.

†J. N. Gupta, in his "Foundations of National Progress," pages 4 and 5, states: "Unfortunately up to now the introduction of representative institutions and the consequent transference of ampler powers and opportunities to the people have not been followed by a commensurate advance in the moral and material prosperity of the people; and the outstanding feature of the present-day situation would still seem to be a great deal of dissipation of energy and the neglect of great opportunities. There cannot be any question that the introduction of democratic institutions into India is a memorable experiment; and if as the result of the foresight, magnanimity, and love of fair play of the British people on the one hand, and the patience, staunchness and patriotism of the Indian people on the other, a stable and workable system of representative Government can be established in India, unquestionably it will form the most remarkable achievement of modern history. In the meanwhile, however, in the heat and stress of the struggle there is danger of both the people and the Government forgetting that no external power, no political bargaining can alone help a people in winning the inestimable boon of political freedom."

C. S. Ranga Iyer clears away the fog of this misconception when he admirably and truthfully states:

> The reforms of 1919 did not inaugurate a new era, as has been hurriedly assumed by some Indian politicians, but gave tangible shape to the working of a principle—faint enough in the beginning—which dominated the constitutional development of Parliamentary government in England . . . The Morley-Minto reforms (1909) resemble in many essential respects the constitution of the self-governing colonies (Transvaal) before they were endowed with Dominion status. The representatives of the people were associated in the work of legislature as far as possible without impairing the power of the Executives, who were to be in control of the administration. *The Morley-Minto reforms made the Montague-Chelmsford reforms inevitable* . . . The same spirit which produced the Canada Bill of 1840 and the South African settlement of 1907 was also responsible for England's decision to grant India Dominion status. . . . *The reforms of 1919 were the logical outcome of the growth of the Legislature and the spirit of progressive realization of responsible government which has been at work in Indian politics, however dim and feeble at the beginning, since 1833.**

Mr. J. N. Gupta is another Indian statesman who avows that the Reforms are the expressions of the culminations and not the origins of increasingly democratic government. In his book, "Foundations of National Progress," he states on pages 253 and 263:

> The Morley-Minto and the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms are undoubtedly among the greatest experiments in political construction recorded in history and the question which should concern us most vitally at the present moment is how the ultimate success of these momentous experiments may be insured. . . . If the Reforms fulfil their destiny and succeed in securing the political emancipation of one-fifth of the human race by a process of constitutional evolution, it will form one of the most memorable chapters in the history of civilization, and will vindicate the sovereignty of moral forces in shaping the destinies of a nation in a manner of which history records no parallel.

Queen Victoria's proclamation was the Magna Charta of

*"India, Peace or War," page 17 et seq. Ranga Iyer is a member of the Indian Assembly and author of "Father India" and "India in the Crucible." (Italics mine.)

India.* To-day there are only 3,500 British in its entire Civil Service. To refer to only one division of these 3,500 Civil Servants, there are in the Police Services 600 European officers and 800 police sergeants out of a total of approximately 187,000 men. In a country ceaselessly torn with communal conflict, this proportion of English police speaks of judicious supervision, not cruel oppression.

England has worked toward the avowed desire of that proclamation of 1858 to develop the Indian peoples to the prescribed qualification of education and ability, with the ideal and goal that they themselves execute and administer a representative dominion. The purpose, the progress, the promise, is a living principle of to-day. Dominion status is an accomplishment of an approaching to-morrow, in accordance with that purpose, that progress and that promise.

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*"Amongst all the States of the ancient and modern world, England is the head of the greatest conglomeration of self-determining and free nationalities. No State in the world either in modern or ancient history has made justice so consistently the watch-word of its world-wide Empire. In this federation which is at once the most powerful as well as the most liberal in the world, India has now definitely taken her place." [J. N. Gupta, "The Foundations of National Progress," page 261.]

CHAPTER VIII

THE FABULOUS FEUDATORIES

THE morning newspaper tells us that February has begun and our friends speak cheerfully of the present "cool" season, but our clinging raiments and perspiring brows belie the pleasantries of "winter." Salamanders no doubt find Madras a delightful place.

But why should we linger in this blistered land of steaming days and stifling nights, where the fierce fervor of the sun stabs our eyes like scorpion stings and the swiftly sudden nights lay heavy on the prostrate earth? In the north the level lands are sunny and the errant air is gay with breath of spring. Wild roses and honeysuckle edge the garden walls and the sweet-voiced bulbuls call joyously from the almond and the mango trees heavy with pink and fragrant blossoms. The drowsy days give way to phosphorescent nights when the jangling of the zither and the throbbing of the drums float across the scented breeze, for the marriage month is drawing near.

Now Delhi lies right in the path of spring, and it would no doubt be most appropriate to continue our studies of the past in environs of the present Government. But the racing season is opening, the Chamber of Princes is convening, dances, garden parties and various and varied social gayeties crowd the hours; Delhi is no place for serious endeavor just now. I suggest a hiatus in the cool hills or Himalayan snows, which are much more exhilarating than the somnolent seductiveness of spring, and then a visit to the capital for the final week of this festive month.

While the most historical places in India are in British territory, the rarest beauties of nature and the most picturesque pageantries of life are to be found in the Native States, those last footholds of feudalism in all this world. Five hundred and sixty-two States, which range in size from the vast kingdom of Hyderabad, equal in area to Italy, to petty principalities not much larger than our own Western ranches, are scattered like islands and archipelagoes throughout the giant subcontinent, dovetailing into the various Provinces of British India with seldom a sign or symbol to indicate the line of frontiers as the arteries of traffic pass in and out of States' territory. But step from your train into any of the native Dominions and I promise you a series of surprises that range from the conveniences of Park Avenue to the cruelties of the Middle Ages.

I suggest that we spend the next three weeks in the fabulous feudatories, my own preference being decidedly in favor of the delights of Kashmir, the Switzerland of India, or the inspirations of the majestic Himalayas from Darjeeling which is barely within the line of British India on the very edge of Nepal and Sikkim.* To include Darjeeling in this story of the States is stretching the point a little far, but this English hamlet clinging to the side of a Himalayan peak, peopled with Mongolian-featured Thibetans, Nepalese and Bhutans with their ruddy cheeks and bright beady eyes crinkling almost perpetually with smiles, is surely not brooding India; and I can think of nothing so alluring as to ride horseback in the crisp, stinging mornings along trails surrounded by the soaring, snow-clad Himalayas, or to make a pilgrimage to watch the sun rise on the sublime "Finger of God," Mount Everest, and then to return to study our problems by the side of a crackling fire while without our windows the glorious maelstrom of mountains rears in majestic splendor, sparkling and gleaming in the dazzling, azure sky.

But perhaps the provocative tang of the pine and the fir forests and the sublime grandeur of the "roof of the world" do not call irresistibly to you. Perhaps you prefer coral strands to icy mountains. These you may choose if you like, for India offers you an amazing range of alternatives. A few days of endurance in heavily shuttered and stained-glass compartments which shield us from the scorching sun and the burning breezes from the sands as our train rushes through a seeming inferno, and presto, you may have what you will!

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*Nepal is a tiny, secluded and almost inaccessible kingdom wedged in between British India and Thibet, lying at the very feet of Everest and Kinchinjunga. "The Last Home of Mystery," by Colonel Alexander Powell, is a fascinating story of a trek into this land of the Gurkhas which is almost forbidden to white men. Sikkim, to whose Raja Darjeeling formerly belonged, is a Native State of only 2,818 square miles sandwiched between British India, Nepal, Bhutan and Thibet.

Before I sketch a few of the most important principalities, so that you may make your own selection for this vacation, let me outline some of the peculiar political features of these unique feudatories.

Last Footholds of Feudalism

There are two Indias: British India and Native India. Native India composes two-fifths of the total area of the whole subcontinent and possesses a quarter of the population. A glance at the map will reveal how closely the States and British India are interwoven in an intricate checkerboard. To the eye the largest mass of native territory is that of Rajputana, but the Rajputana Agency consists of a number of distinct states,* while the second largest mass is Hyderabad, one great kingdom. Out of the total of 562 states, 286 are situated in Kathiawar and Gujarat. Some of these principalities were virile kingdoms, strong enough to hold their identities and territories against all assaults from the time of the splintering of the Moghul Empire. In some instances, only accidents of chance determined what is feudal and what is British, and it rarely happens that the political outlines of a State are coincident with racial or linguistic divisions. The Nizam of Hyderabad is a Moslem monarch of autocratic sovereignty over twelve and a half millions of people, mainly Hindu; the Hindu Maharajah of Kashmir is supreme ruler over three and a half million subjects, principally Moslem. There are less Sikhs in the Sikh States, of which Patiala is the premier, than there are in the Punjab Province of British India; there are more Mahrattas in the Bombay Presidency than under the rule of the Mahratta Princes.

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*The eight most important of these, in alphabetical order, are Alwar, Bikaner, Bundi, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kotah, Tonk and Udaipur.

Internally the 562 principalities present a striking diversity of political, economic and geographical characteristics. Kashmir, that land of song and story which stretches from the soaring hills of the Hindu Kush northward to the snow-created Karakoran spires "where three empires meet,"* with its semitic Moslems and Kashmiri Brahmans, has nothing in common with Travancore, with its polyandrous Nairs and hosts of low-caste Christian converts, which fringes the southwestern coast right down to the tropical tip of Ceylon. Hyderabad, the famed land of Golconda in the heart of the Deccan, with its cotton fields and seri-culture, ruled by His Exalted Highness the Nizam, richest man in the world, has nothing of common concern with the great peninsular kingdom of Cutch, which projects into the Arabian Sea with only its vast salt marshes to save it from being an island.

Within their own borders the hereditary princes—the maharajahs, rajahs, nizams and nawabs†—of the major principalities are sovereign masters, holding the power of life and death over their subjects, making and enforcing their own civil and criminal laws, appointing their own officials, levying their own taxes and customs duties, administering their own finances and maintaining their own armies. Forty princes have established High Courts, some being modelled after European judicature; thirty-four claim to possess executive departments distinct from their judicial administration; thirty have instituted a form of legislative council which in no case possesses any power, being only a consultative body. Some of the princes are devoted to the welfare of their subjects and are imbued with consciousness of their responsibilities, while some are, without doubt, iniquitous despots.

Externally the British Crown is responsible for the territorial integrity of each Native State. Forty States of major importance have actual treaties with the Paramount Power; a larger number have some form of engagement or "Sanad," literally

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*China, Russia and India.

†Maharajah is the highest Hindu title and rajah is second, while nizam is the supreme Moslem title in India, which is conferred on only the rulers of Hyderabad, and nawab is second.

"a concession or acknowledgement of authority or privilege generally coupled with conditions, proceeding from the Paramount Power";* and the remaining States enjoy varied forms of recognition of their status by the Crown. All external relationships are in the hands of Parliament and an Indian State cannot hold diplomatic or official intercourse with any foreign Power; the Crown in return guarantees the security and protection of each principality from attack from within or without India. Internationally Native India is in the same relative position as British India and it is *All India* which is a member of the League of Nations, the two Indias being represented as a unit by a delegation which includes a Ruler of an Indian State. This political linking was a result of the loyal support and participation of Native India in the World War, many Ruling Princes and their subjects fighting side by side with Britishers from every part of the Empire. As the States had voluntarily shared in the trials of war, the Government of England voluntarily shared with the States in the honors of peace at Versailles and Geneva.

Most of the important rulers have and frequently exercise the right of direct access to and correspondence with the Viceroy, but the affairs of the princes with the Government of India are generally conducted through the channels of the British Residents, or political officers, whose duties as representatives of the Government of India vary according to the importance and progressiveness of the State to which each is accredited. As Colonel Powell points out:† "In some instances they are little more than advisers exercising about the same degree of influence as the American ministers to Haiti and Nicaragua. In others they are invested with a direct share in the administration, and in the case of a State whose prince is a minor, the agent is ruler in all save name."

As for the petty chieftains, some of whose fiefs are little more than large farms, the power of the rulers is sometimes limited to the collection of the revenues within their borders.

*Indian Statutory Commission Report, vol. I, page 85.

†"The Last Home of Mystery," page 81.

Many of these small States are linked into groups under the general supervision of a British political officer.

Only in the instances of severe abuses of administration, where the people are atrociously maltreated or the finances flagrantly wasted to the extent that anarchy or disturbances threaten to endanger the peace and security of the country as a whole, does the Paramount Power interfere in the internal affairs of the Native States.

In 1875 the Maharajah Malhar Rao of Baroda was deposed for "notorious misconduct" and "gross misgovernment," his successor, H. H. Maharajah Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar (who is very proud that only he can wear a scarlet skullcap which displays the fact that he alone of the princes attended the 1877 Durbar at Delhi, when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress), being one of the most enlightened and progressive of present-day rulers.*

When the Nizam of Hyderabad planned to enter into an alliance with the Amir of Afghanistan, before Amanullah's fall, and thus form a union of Mohammedan ruling kings which would necessarily have been a flaming spark to the dynamite of centuries-old Moslem-Hindu fury, the Nizam was promptly and emphatically informed that the suzerainty of the British Crown, which stood sponsor for the integrity of every Indian State and Province, permitted no prince, including His Exalted Highness, to treat, ally or war with external powers. As long as the British are supreme in India no new confederates will be permitted to challenge the corridors of the gory Khyber.

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*Baroda is a Native State within the Gujarat Province of Bombay, 8,135 square miles in territory and consisting of four isolated divisions each of which is interlaced in the most intricate fashion with British territory or with other Native States. The princes of Baroda were one of the chief branches of the Mahratta Confederacy which in the eighteenth century spread devastation and terror over India. Until Malhar Rao was deposed Baroda was a prey to one of those bitter and unappeasable family feuds which have been the ruin of great Indian families. The widow of the Maharajah's brother, and predecessor, was permitted to adopt an heir from among the descendants of the ruling family. A boy twelve years of age was chosen and was educated by an English tutor, the administration being meanwhile placed for eight years under the charge of Sir T. Madhava Rao, one of the ablest and most enlightened of Indian statesmen. The new Gaekwar has proven to be a model prince and Baroda has become as well governed and prosperous as a British district.

Altogether there have been comparatively few instances of intervention by the Crown, the most recent case being the enforced abdication of Sir Tukoji Rao Holkar, the Maharajah of Indore, in favor of his son, in 1926. Contrary to rumor in America, the Prince was not deposed because of modern ideas or his proposed marriage to the Seattle girl, Miss Nancy Ann Miller. The ex-Maharajah married Miss Miller after his abdication which ensued upon certain allegations made in connection with the notorious matter of the Indian lover of Mumtaz Begum, a dancing girl of the Maharajah's zenana who escaped from his palace and made her way to Bombay where she became the mistress of a wealthy native merchant. This merchant was murdered on Malabar Hill, the most fashionable quarter of Bombay, under the very eyes of the British police. The Maharajah, shortly after, abdicated his throne in favor of his son, "on the understanding that no further enquiry into my alleged connection with the Malabar Hill Tragedy will be made." On these terms the enquiry was dropped and the British government took no further action in the matter. Today, the ex-Maharajah and his American wife live in a magnificent château at Saint Germain, near Paris, visiting India only infrequently.

C. P. Ranga Iyer condemns the princes and chiefs as "despots, either petty or mighty according to the size of their territory"* and disclaims the sincerity of their efforts toward progressive government, stating: "To please the democratic desires of their subjects, Legislatures have been set up in some of the States, but they are only debating societies. 'I have got a Council,' said the Maharajah of Bikaner to Mr. Lloyd George, 'but I nominate my Councillors.'"† Mr. Ranga Iyer does not mention however that this fifty-year-old Maharajah has almost single-handedly converted his desert kingdom of 23,000 square miles into a land of promise by his outstanding achievements of irrigation and progressive administration.‡

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*"India—Peace or War?" page 170.

†*Ibid.*, page 171.

‡Major-General His Highness Sir Ganga Singhji Bahadur, signer for India of the Treaty of Versailles, member of His Majesty's Imperial War Council, veteran of the World War, repeatedly decorated by Edward VII and George V, Honorary LL.D. Cam-

Mr. Ranga Iyer, who plays a prominent part in the Indian Legislative Assembly at Delhi and who is a great admirer of Premier MacDonald's Labor Government and an ardent advocate of a federated India under British rule, uncompromisingly condemns the autocratic imperialism of the Indian princes. Were his point of view that of only one member of the Assembly it would be interesting but not necessarily important in Indian politics, but it is the standpoint of the Nationalist party which he represents.*

Mr. Ranga Iyer declares:

> Benevolent autocracy is the *ne plus ultra* of perfection to which any State can aspire. The best Maharajahs generally would like to play the rôle of benevolent despots but where the Maharajah is good but weak and the Dewan (Prime Minister) unscrupulous and strong, there is neither honesty nor justice nor fair play in the administration. British India, it is no exaggeration to say, is a thousand times better than the Native States, alike in the matter of justice and fair play.
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> Had it not been for the British there would have been such terrible riots and popular risings in the States that the unpopular Maharajahs would have disappeared or been deprived of their autocratic powers.

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bridge and Edinburgh, D.C.L. Oxford, Freeman of the Cities of London, Edinburgh, Manchester and Bristol, is one of the most astute of Indian rulers. He has notably benefited his country of almost 700,000 people, who are chiefly agriculturists and shepherds raising a fine breed of sheep much valued for their wool. The State, which adjoins Jodhpur and Jaipur in Rajputana, consists largely of desert, and water is found only at a depth of 150 to 300 feet. It is the Maharajah's progressive methods and accomplishments which have converted this arid land into a cultivatable country. The Bikaner camels are far famed and the State Camel Corps distinguished itself in China, under command of the late Maharajah, in 1900, and in Somaliland in 1903–4, and was sent to Egypt during the war in 1914:15. The Maharajah is playing a leading part in Indian State politics, and at the Round Table Conference in London in November, 1930, declared himself in favor of a federated India, stating: "There are not two Indias. We, the Princes, are Indians first and Princes afterward! . . . I have seen in British India . . . how the masses are being affected. . . . No half-hearted measures will meet the situation. We . . . must . . . make . . . for India . . . a federated system of government composed of the Native States and of British India . . . a co-equal partner in the great British Commonwealth." (Beginning with the Montague-Chelmsford Report in 1919, the latest declaration and recommendation being stated in the Simon Commission report in 1930, Great Britain has continually declared the advisability of an ultimate federated India incorporating the two Indias. The question is only a matter of political preparation and educational advancement. See last Chapter.)

*The present or "new" Nationalist Party is that wing of the original Party that believes in endeavoring to increase representative government by working the Reforms in Parliament while the Swarajist faction insist upon boycotting them. The Nationalist Party, which has refused to unite with the Swarajists to form a re-united Nationalist Party, may be called the Liberals of Indian politics while the Swarajists (of whom Gandhi is leader) may be termed the Radicals. The aims of both factions, *i. e.*, complete autonomy, are identical but their methods are at wide variance.

But the British Government cannot avoid, if need arises, helping these Maharajahs, because they have deprived them of their militias, which they could have used against their rebellious subjects.* The safety of the Maharajahs therefore lies in the strength of the British army, the fear of which prevents their subjects from entertaining the merest thought of rebellion. Fierce is the conflict which has arisen in the States between the Princes and the people. The former cling ferociously to their inheritance of despotic power, while the latter are struggling for their rights to evolve and control a popular constitution.

Either the States must progress on modern and democratic lines with British India, or its rulers must agree to the constant interference and control of the Paramount Power in internal affairs. The age of despotism has passed away in British India. If by a fiat of the Socialist Government in Britain all the Indian States were abolished none would be more happy than the subjects of the States themselves.

The majority of Princes, instead of chafing at the intervention of the British Government, must feel grateful that their States have not been annexed to British India on the ground of maladministration. With the exception of some of the South Indian States, where English education has progressed as rapidly as in British Indian owing to a succession of enlightened Princes who saw the wisdom of opening colleges affiliated to the British Universities in their respective provinces, the administration of the Indian States is appallingly crude and indisputedly corrupt. . . . Were a referendum taken to-day among the subjects they would cheerfully vote for the annexation of the States to British India. The States exist to-day because of the mercy of the British.

Had there been in British India one-thousandth of that corruption and dishonesty and oppression and uncontrolled autocracy you find in the Indian States, long ago the British Raj would have perished. . . . Between a tolerated and tolerable foreign rule and an intolerant and impossible native autocracy, the choice is easy. No wonder British rule in India is more popular than that of the Maharajahs! Tell Indians that England would to-morrow parcel out India into as many little states under Maharajahs, and thus make the whole of India hitherto directly under the British as self-governing as the States, and see what

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*Mr. Ranga Iyer is not correct here, for we know that many of the States have their own armies, the number of troops being limited because they are not permitted to egress beyond their own frontiers. "The Government of India, in connection with its responsibility for the strategic defense of India, encourages the major States to maintain, but only so far as their financial resources permit, bodies of efficient forces (called Indian State Forces) for co-operation with the Indian Army, both in the external defense of India and the maintenance of internal order, an Inspection Staff is provided and paid for by the Government of India. The States are responsible for their own police." [Simon Commission Report, vol. I, page 87.] The wealthy State of Hyderabad maintains an army of 20,000 troops.

> happens! A whole country would rise in revolt against that shocking suggestion. Take away the protecting arm of Britain from these mediæval Maharajahs, and their subjects, who have been groaning under their unspeakable meanness and tyranny, will overthrow them in one single week.
>
> British India is not a heaven, though the European officials sometimes act like little divinities and infallibles. They are, in the Right Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald's satirical words, "Imperious and imperial." But they have begun to feel that their power which made them near to gods must vanish. It is decreasing fast. If British India is not a heaven the Indian States are a veritable hell. There is only one way to improve them. And that is to make the rulers constitutional kings—subject to the suzerainty of the British Crown in external affairs, and to the will of the people in internal administration. That is the only answer that can be given to the Princes' demand for independence from British interference.

Mr. Ranga Iyer is no doubt correct in saying that the autocratic rule of the princes is stifling to democratic development, but he has failed to take into consideration the facts that few of the Indian peoples who are now desirous of self-government are educationally equipped for full responsibilities, and that multitudes are not even comprehensive of the problems of politics. For thousands of years the Indian mentality has been cast in the mould of autocratic thought, and many of the Princes are not only reverenced as worldly rulers but even worshipped as spiritually divine descendants from the Hindu pantheon of gods.

Bred in the blood of the East, often educated and cultured in universities of the West, children of superstitions and idols, associates of kings and prime ministers, their allies the British, their subjects the descendants of peoples conquered by their forefathers, is it strange that these last lordly autocrats of the world are exotic mixtures, seldom understood and seldom understanding either East or West?

Wielding sacrosant scepters, dipping their fingers at will in the treasuries of their realms, it is not surprising that some of these prodigal Princes are curious combinations of Bluebeards and theatric coxcombs who deem "all the world is but a stage where every man must play his part" for their amusement. While philanthropy and sagacity are qualities of striking rarity, shrewdness is an outstanding characteristic of the majority of Maharajahs. They know their peoples and their patois; they know that the pomp and pageantry and the personal audience of their Durbars* appeal to the hearts of their feudal-minded subjects.

It is only within the last few years that the spirit of nationality has welled over the borders of British India and spread in widening waves of discontent in State areas. There are "Lawrences" other than "T.E." who can tell, when they will, of the councils by the campfires along the frontiers when the villagers of the Provinces gather with their tribal brothers who live under the rule of the Rajas to discuss the curious customs of the English sahibs and the latest taxes of the Zemindars. Those who listen well and hear much, while the smoke of the hookah goes in and the thoughts come out, say that in former days the young men of the tribes sat respectfully silent while the elders of the Rajah's realms commiserated with their Provincial brothers who had to carry their troubles to the Suddar Station, or worse still to the Provincial Capital, where everything was very regulated and very expensive, and the English sahibs in unglorious black robes looked up things in great volumes before they decided the law; and then they would pridefully boast that they, children of the Raja, had audience in the great Dewan-i-Khas before his magnificence, the Prince, who decided all things in his wisdom without any need of books, and what if his laws weren't regulated, they were royal! But nowadays the puffs from the hookahs of the

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*Royal Courts which at once partake of the nature of military, religious and social functions when the sovereign, following a royal procession on elephants accoutred with bells and caparisoned in the imperial colors, annually receives the feudal presentations of the Mohour, a ceremony synonymous with the oath of fealty of our Middle Ages. In India the ritual usually consists of the reception of the vassals who kneel in hierarchical order before the monarch enthroned in the Dewan-i-Khas (Hall of Audience), clad in full military regalia and emblazoned with all his decorations, each subject pronouncing his pledge of allegiance and touching the hand of the prince with a silver rupee which he afterwards drops in a plate. The native rulers also hold frequent audiences, or levees, when they hear the petitions of all who have complaint or request to make. These audiences, which are also called Durbars, are the beginning and end of the Indian system of Government.

Raja's children are slow and steady while the excited voices of the Provincials tell that one of their villagers has himself become a sahib in the black robes and that soon all in the Provinces will be sahibs like the feringis* and make their own laws and decide their own taxes, so why should their friends over the border pay what the Prince commands? And anyway, some of their brothers, who read the feringi papers which came from afar, say that the Raja spends his taxes in the great cities where, it is whispered, he defiles himself by mingling with the white sahibs and mem-sahibs.

It is not only the British "Lawrences" who sit under the great stars that pulse in the indigo skies and listen to the gossip of the campfires, for the Princes have a secret service with ears at every council. They know that there is a steady crescendo in the murmur of malcontent and some are beginning to "heed the rumble of the distant drums."

These are the stories we hear, and they seem well endorsed by the hasty liberalism of the Maharajahs at the Chamber of Princes and their sudden co-operation with the delegates of Indian moderates to the Round Table Conference in London. What motive other than a sudden realization of the precariousness of their positions could impel them to concur in the movement for a fully autonomous federation of all India when they have not transferred to their own subjects any representative or executive functions of self-government?

Many Americans have enjoyed the lavish hospitality of different native potentates who are invariably charming hosts. Marble palaces, gold and crimson caparisoned elephants, afternoon jaunts into the country which entail an entourage of twenty-five or thirty Rolls-Royces, are everyday affairs for the guest in this land of Arabian Nights with seemingly a thousand genii. Mystery, gilt with glamour, and pageantry, that seems the extravagant fantasy of a dream, prevail in these medleys of the Middle Ages, Champs-Elysées and England under King John.

What do we know of the peasants and the proletarians of these last fastnesses of nepotism? A guest cannot say to a generous host: "What of this is shadow, what is substance?" While tourists are permitted to take a bird's-eye view of the Native territories, it is only as a guest of royalty that one can make a survey of even the superstratum of affairs. It is no more possible to delve deeply into conditions in the realms of a ruling Prince than it is permissible to investigate the staff of his palace. One hears that life is less complex and a great deal cheaper than in British India, and certainly a royal guest is not clutched by the usual skinny talons of creatures caked in filth and crawling with vermin. Nevertheless, the observant eye can detect the festered bodies cringing in doorways or grovelling in the dust of roadways as the swift cars speed by.

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*The British; literally, the foreigners.

The sojourner in India who keeps his ears close to the earth cannot but detect the increasing clamor of rebellion. When the day arrives that the people not only desire but in truth develop the capacity to choose and control a truly responsible government, the waves of democracy will engulf these fabulous feudalities scattered throughout the political sea of India, and the bejewelled princes with their marble palaces and guarded zenanas, their sinuous nautch girls and thousands of serfs, their sybaritical luxuries and gargantuan extravagances, will lose their Aladdin's lamps. The genii will vanish, and all the maharajahs and the rajahs, the nizams and the nawabs will have to step out of their wonder-lands behind the looking-glass into a workaday world, or furl their splendors like the dragon banners that once flew over the Forbidden City.

The Land of Golconda

"Not all the diamonds of Golconda would tempt me," many a child at play has shouted with glee, little knowing just where is the enchanted place. Hyderabad, the largest, by far, of all the Native States, absorbed Golconda centuries ago and we may stroll about the stupendous fort of the far-famed and fabled "City of Diamonds" if we make a short digression from the main rail line between Madras and Bombay.

It is with a strong sense of concession to political geography that I tell you first of Hyderabad, for this huge State of 82,000 square miles and a population of over 12,000,000 people does not warrant heading the list from the viewpoint of picturesque beauty, but both politics and picturesqueness do permit me to take you next to Kashmir, and it will be easy to stop off in Hyderabad on our way to Bombay en route to the Land of Lalla Rookh.

We change at Wadi Junction, 376 miles east of Bombay, to the railway of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, wealthiest man in all the world and the most powerful potentate in India, and journey for 115 miles across undulating plains, splashed with yellow of millet fields and toothed with sharp masses of granite and gneiss that cut into a cobalt sky, until we arrive at Hyderabad, the capital, which rests in a scimetar curve of the Musi River.

Peopled by a half million inhabitants, principally Hindus, ruled by Mohammedans almost since its founding, this city offers little to the visitor in spite of its mediæval atmosphere and swashbuckling throngs who swarm the streets with veritable armories of weapons thrust in their swathed belts. There are Public Gardens surrounded by a high wall castellated with two lofty gateways; crowded bazaars as picturesque as, but no more so than, those in other Indian cities; a mosque, the Mecca Masjid, with a gateway completed by Aurangzeb, the Moghul, in 1692 following his taking of the city; another mosque, the Jami Masjid; and various modern but no notable buildings, except the Falaknuma Palace which is reputed to be the most beautiful in all India, but unless you are an important personage, I dare venture to say unless you are an accredited representative of the King of England, you cannot even glimpse the outside walls of this barricaded castle which is the residence of the Nizam, tenth in line of the Moslem dynasty founded by the Turkoman, Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk, who seized the country as his own kingdom in 1740 A.D. while acting as Viceroy of the Deccan for the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb.*

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*Asaf Jah was one of the many viceroys who took advantage of the shattering of Empire following the death of Aurangzeb, the last of the six magnificent Moghuls, to

This Moslem monarch lives in exalted and solitary splendor, a haughty ruler unpopular with his subjects, three-fourths of whom are Hindus, who widely accuse him of hoarding the great wealth of the country to the exclusion of benefit to his people. Fantastic tales about the miserly eccentricities of this modern-day Midas are current throughout Hyderabad and curious indeed are the stories of his love for counting over and over great heaps of gold and silver which he is said to keep stacked in rooms of his palace under perpetual guard.

The Nizam enjoys an income from State revenues which annually amounts to approximately $25,000,000 and far exceeds the levies of any other Native State. More than half of Hyderabad's taxes are exacted from land imposts, the principal products being millets of various kinds, rice, wheat, oil seeds and cotton. Tussar silks are made from the produce of a wild species of worm, and lac, a resinous extract derived from the exudations of an insect, is collected and shipped in large quantities. The principal exports of this State, which varies in surface and feature from mountainous and wooded country to rich and fertile plains interspersed with tracts too sterile ever to be cultivated, are cotton, oil seed and hides, while the imports are largely salt, timber, European piece-goods and hardware.

Even without the land assessments this princely potentate would be a veritable Crœsus, for he inherited prodigious quantities of jewels and plate, part of which were the spoils of war from former days when Golconda vanquished and plundered the glittering kingdom of Vijayanagar (in 1565) and other neighboring strongholds, and part of which are the hoarded

throw off the control of the Delhi Court. Asaf Jah succeeded in carving the largest portion of Southern India from the once powerful Mohammedan Empire. During the customary internecine struggle for succession which followed his death, Dupleix, the astute French Governor of Pondicherri, took advantage of the situation to place his own candidate on the throne (see Chapter V, page 132). It was the English under Clive who dethroned the French nominee and secured the dynasty of the present Nizam, descendant of Asaf Jah. In the 1857 mutiny the attitude of this premier Native State and the cynosure of the Moslems in India was of extreme importance and the loyalty of the Nizam and his famous prime minister to the British was of vital moment. The present Nizam was but following in his father's footsteps when he issued a manifesto in May, 1930, when India was seething with insurrection, appealing to the people of India to "support law and order and range themselves on the side of constituted authority."

treasures of munificent riches in diamonds and gold which were found centuries ago in the fabulous mines of Golconda* that gave to the world all the famous diamonds of antiquity including the Koh-i-nor.

We not only cannot visit the Falaknuma Palace but we cannot even stay in Hyderabad, for all the hotels are at Secunderabad, six miles distant, where a British cantonment is situated, although the Nizam has a private army of 20,000 troops. It is whispered that His Exalted Highness welcomes with feelings of alleviation the Infantry brigade stationed there and the Cavalry brigade at nearby Bolarum, for the dissatisfied murmurings of the people are rising in ever increasing volume about the marble fastnesses of the royal palace.

If there is nothing particularly colorful or fascinating about the city of Hyderabad, the Fort of Golconda, five miles beyond the western gates, compensates for our journey. As we motor through hilly country, the first sight of the colossal fortress, rearing its stupendous heights above a sweeping undulation of plain, sends to our minds a rush of recollections of legends and stories dear to our childhood. It was right here that Sinbad the Sailor saw the merchants throw great joints of meat to the eagles in the Valley of Diamonds, and then fastened himself to one piece and was carried away by the great bird to its nest, where he found the fortune in diamonds. And when we were a little older and pored over the accounts of Marco Polo's adventures, we read from his diary that: "The Fort of Golconda has been for centuries the marvel of India. It's crested ramparts with 87 bastions, it's parapets and watch towers, it's passages cut out of solid rock leading by subterranean ways to the open country, fill one with amazement at their massiveness," and there before our very eyes are those self-same ramparts, the huge walls made of gigantic blocks of granite placed, by some miraculous and unexplained power, one upon another and side by side for the whole circumference of three miles; and there are the great bastions jutting above the colossal battlements. We eagerly inquire if Marco Polo was right and if there are really eighty-seven. There are! Some of them are still breasted by the old Kutb Shah guns, for this fortress was the capital of the Kingdom of Golconda, which stretched from the Fortress to the east seacoast, from Orissa to the Krishna, all realms of the Kutb Shah kings who ruled from 1507 until 1687, when Aurangzeb took the impregnable fort by trickery and treachery after unsuccessfully storming it for eight months.

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*The diamond mines of Golconda, which have become proverbial, were exhausted many years ago except for exceedingly small and indifferent stones.

As we cross the river-wide and once river-deep moat and pause at the Banjara Gate to have our permits examined, we gaze up at the massive portal of granite cut to more than fifty feet above our heads and inset with platforms and chambers on either side for the guard just within the high teakwood gates which are studded with iron wrought into huge dagger-pointed spikes, most adequate protections against ramming and battering elephants. No wonder Aurangzeb had to buy the complicity of the Sultan's minister before he could take the citadel! Lilliputians could hold these titanic battlements against whole armies of Gulliver's Brobdingnagians.

Inside the formidable walls are many old buildings, most of them sadly crumbled and fallen into ruins. We wander about at will, climbing tiers upon tiers of fortifications until we find outselves atop the very loftiest part of the innermost citadel, fully 350 feet above the rest of the walls, where we gaze out upon a rolling sweep of country and down upon a sequestered garden outside the fortress where repose the departed Sultans in richly decorated mausoleums with bulbous domes and many balconies. Each crumbled palace, each royal tomb, has a history all its own, but we have no time to linger. India is full of fabled and famous relics, many far richer in legend and lore than even those of Golconda.

We have had our compensation, for now we know dreams *do* come true and fairy tales *are* real, for look about us! If only we could capture the seven-league boots to take us to Kashmir!

Switzerland of India

If the boots were procurable, or even wishing caps, I'd give emphatic instructions that we were to be taken no farther than

Rawal Pindi, where we'd regain the use of our own pedal extremities and a motor car to carry us into the heart of the Vale. It would be nothing short of privation to be hurried through the 200 miles of panoramic grandeur that lie between Pindi, as the sweltering but socially gay military station is familiarly called, and Srinagar,* the "Venice" and capital of Kashmir.

Pindi, one of the largest cantonments in India, squats on a sunbaked tableland about a hundred miles south of Peshawar,† guardian of the Khyber. Pindi has nothing in the world to offer the traveller, nor the resident, for that matter, save the round of dinners and dances and devastations of hearts with which Kipling's English solace themselves for life on these blistering barren steppes, but it is the starting point for the best road into Kashmir, that rugged, mountainous Eden that lies cradled in the very heart of the Himalayas.

Leaving Pindi in the blackness before dawn, our swift motor soon speeds beyond the level of the plains and climbs a zigzag trail up and up the southern spurs of the Pir Panjal‡ to meet the sunrise. Far below us the humid lowlands lie drowned in a gray sea of mountain mist, but ahead a jagged line of flame darts along the crenated crests of waves upon waves of soaring mountains. Behind the snow-clad heights the sun has risen.

By the time the snows are blazened with red and gold we achieve the altitude of Murree, a little town on the summit of a ridge all of 7,700 feet above sea level. Here we halt in the chill stinging morning for steaming coffee at a dingy little hotel, all that Murree has to offer at this time of the year, but in two more months this headquarters of the Northern Command and sanatorium of the Punjab will come to life, and fully 20,000 people will be enjoying these magnificent views over forest-clad hills into deep valleys studded with villages and cultivated fields, all surrounded by the white-blanketed pinnacles. We have travelled forty miles in latitude and six months in temperature; in an hour and a half we've jumped from July to January.

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*Consistent with India's inconsistencies, Srinagar is pronounced Seer-i-nar-gar.

†Pronounced Pe-shaw'-wa.

‡The Pir Panjal range are the flanks of the Himalayas on the southern boundaries of Kashmir as the Hindu Kush and Karakoran ranges are on the northern.

Warmed and refreshed, we now journey for twenty-five miles through gorgeous scenery, gradually dropping down into the valley of the Jhelum River, a raging torrent of swirling waters that sweep along between precipitous palisades of limestone, carrying thousands of logs from the rich forests of Kashmir which have been cut in the dense uplands and launched in the tumultuous river. Later the logs, all owned by the State, are collected where the Jhelum slows into a placid stream in the plains of the Punjab.

We are now at Kohala, where we cross the raging rapids by a lattice girder bridge and enter Kashmir territory, stopping to pay toll and later to have our passports examined and luggage inspected by the customs officials, and to pay more tolls before we proceed along the left wall of the stream on a road cut into the face of the cliff. A good part of the next seventy miles is full of excitement, for the snow-encrusted ledge is blocked every little way by huge crags that have rolled down the mountainsides and every now and then enormous rocks go crashing down into the gorge from the precipiced acclivities that rise sharply above us, but the encircling mountains are so dazzlingly glorious with their glistening crests and glaciered sides that their splendor inspires an ecstasy of spirit far too exuberant to be concerned by crashing boulders and chipped-away roads that perilously shelve the brink of yawning chasms, or by wheels often skidding dizzily over the sheer edge of nothingness.

The hillsides of the mountain-encased canyon seem forested with thousands of Christmas trees so glitteringly do their frosted branches sparkle and shimmer in the brilliant sunshine. Two months from now when the snows have joined the boiling waters below us, those steep slopes will be covered with thousands of wild cherry and apricot trees in masses of bloom, great spreading deodars* and, above them, dense forests of blue pines and silver fir, while the river banks and road sides will be carpeted with clumps of violets and masses of bluebells and trailing arbutus.

At the little town of Baramula we stop for the night in the dak* bungalow maintained by H. H. the Maharajah of Kashmir for the numerous travellers who pause here even in summer when the roads are smooth highways and all the bridges adequately cross the numerous tributaries that then rush less impetuously into the Jhelum. It is at Baramula that we find clusters of chalets, those picturesque but shaky habitations so distinctive of Kashmir, and come in contact with the first real Kashmiri dwellers, for we have reached the end of the stern-walled gorge and the beginning of the broad valley 6,000 feet above sea level. Here the hillsides part asunder and the glorious Vale of Kashmir stretches its saucer-shaped length of exquisite beauty for 84 miles with a breadth of 20 to 25 miles, cupped in the very heart of the majestic Himalayas which cradle this "emerald set in pearls," as one Kashmiri poet described the Vale.

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*A handsome variety of the cedar of Lebanon.

We draw up before the picturesque chalet which is perched on a narrow ledge jutting out over the river and we are greatly surprised to see snow-shoes and skiis piled on the veranda and to hear merry voices within. A roaring fire and two English couples regaling themselves with warming glasses are welcome sights and as we thaw out by the crackling flames we learn they are on their way to Gulmarg, the Kashmir St. Moritz twenty-six miles from Srinagar, for the winter sports. We fall asleep quickly after dinner, lulled by the rush of the cataracts and cascades beneath us as they plunge musically on their way to the torrid plains.

We leap out of bed in the clear stinging chill of early morning and fairly catch our breaths in wonder and excitement at the alpine scene of grandeur without our windows and the alluring beauty of the Vale that widens to the north. Who has not longed to make his pilgrimage to that entrancing country so eulogized by Thomas More, for:

> Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere
> With its roses the highest that earth ever gave,

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*A type of rest-house found throughout India where travellers may put up for the night and procure food. In the Native States each dak is marked with a large sign informing the wayfarer that the lodge is the property of His Highness the Maharajah, but do not

Its temples, and grottos, and fountains so clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave?

The roses are still asleep beneath the snows, but the beauteous Vale is transcendently lovely in the radiant morn as we motor along its level roads bordered for miles by avenues of tall straight poplars, a range of rosy mountains completely encircling the wide valley. It is at this season that Kashmir seems most like Switzerland, to which it often is compared. As you no doubt are thinking I'm a prejudiced lover of Lalla Rookh's country, let me, as we motor along the thirty-five miles that lie between Baramula and Srinagar, quote Sir Francis Younghusband, who lived so many years in Asia and knows so well the "roof of the world":

> Switzerland, indeed, has a combination of lake and mountain in which, I think, it excels Kashmir. But it is built on a smaller scale. There is not the same wide sweep of snow-clad mountains. There is no place where one can see a complete *circle* of snowy mountains surrounding a plain of anything like the length and breadth of the Kashmir Valley, for the main valleys of Switzerland are like the side valleys of Kashmir. And above everything there is not behind Switzerland what there is at the back of Kashmir and visible in glimpses from the southern side—a region of stupendous mountains surpassing every other in the world. By these Himalayan regions only, by those unequalled mountains seen from Darjeeling, can Kashmir be excelled. There indeed one sees mountain majesty and sublimity at their very zenith. And with such as these Kashmir cannot compare. But it possesses a combination of quiet loveliness and mountain grandeur which has a fascination all its own. If one could imagine the Thames Valley with a girdle of snowy mountains, he would have the nearest approach to a true idea of Kashmir it is possible to give. He would not expect the stern ruggedness and almost overwhelming majesty of the mighty mountains beyond Kashmir. But he would have the tranquil beauty and genial loveliness which to some are ever preferable.*

But if Kashmir hasn't the exquisite lakes of Switzerland,

be deceived into thinking you are his guest. The charge for an empty room and bare bed (every traveller carries his own bedding everywhere in India) varies from $1.50 to $2.00.

*"Kashmir," pages 2 and 3, by Sir Francis Younghusband who beautifully and pictorially accomplishes "the delicate task of describing Kashmir." His description and the paintings by his collaborator, Major Molyneux, give a graphic understanding of the lures and gifts of Kashmir.

she has broad and shallow lagoons filled with floating islands of luxuriant growths, and streams and canals bordered by drooping willows and water chestnuts, and one can float or be barged in and out of the lotus-covered waters of one languorous lake to another, or anchor beneath a spreading chenar,* and there are treks to be made into Balistan and Thibet, and wild game such as never saw Switzerland to be hunted. Though in Switzerland one is released from besieging vendors and may retain one's dulcet tones of voice instead of uttering the innumerable and constant "Jaos,"† there are not the wide varieties of voluptuous gardens and thrilling shikars nor the picturesque natives,—those long-nosed Kashmiris, and the slit-eyed Buddhists, from the lands of the lamas and the devil dancers, who come down into the Vale from their high valleys where rivers run at 11,000 feet and mountains tower another 10,000 feet or more above the rivers, driving their strings of yaks laden with tea from Lhasa, silks from China and fine downy wool that is clipped from under the long coarse hair of the Thibetan goat and woven by the Kashmiri into the delicate materials called Pashmina on which the famous shawl patterns are worked.

We see some of these fur-capped, Mongolian-featured mountaineers trudging along beside laden yaks, their bare feet lashed to wooden cobbled sandals that look like crude copies of the beach shoes so popular at our smart resorts these past few years. Cheery and smiling, they pull into snowbanks as we speed on down the heart of the Vale, on either side of us great snow-carpeted fields that will be meadows sweet with narcissus and daisies and wild hyacinths before March is over, and that a little later, by the time the willow trees are in leaf, will turn into vast sheets of fragrant mauve and purple blossoms, the Kashmiri saffron.*

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*A species of the plane tree which is a specialty of Kashmir where it grows in such thick and luxuriant leaf that one can recline beneath it completely shaded in midday of the most intense summer sun or safely sheltered during a downpour.

†One word that is as easily understood in every vernacular south of Russian Turkestan as "Baksheesh." It means "Begone!" and it must have a quality of Chinese, where intonations alter the meaning of words, for a gentle or even a coldly polite "Jao" (pronounced "jow") always brings a closer pressing and a louder importuning of the mobs. "Jao" must be said bitterly, loudly, fiercely and belligerently, and then it sometimes has the effect of a sweetly vacillating grandmother, with sugar-cookies stored away, saying in English: "Run away, my children."

Hidden from view, away to our left, lies the broad sheet of the shallow Wular Lake, the largest in India. Many visitors in the warm months abandon their cars at Baramula and take a houseboat, on which they will probably laze away the early summer or fall months,† and move slowly up the Wular to Srinagar, changing their moorings as fancy dictates or threading in and out of the network of picturesque canals which link the numerous lakes that spread through the dream-picture woodland glades. But it will be three months before the streams will be filled with gayly awning-covered boats of every description anchored in the shade or being driven along by the heart-shaped paddles of lusty boatmen, dirtier and more exotic than the gondoliers of Venice. Though we can't see the mirror-waters of the Wular, we can distinguish above the mountain girdle the snow summit of sacred Haramokh, standing out boldly directly ahead of us all the way from Baramula to Srinagar. The devout Hindus cast the ashes and finger bones of their deceased relatives in the lake at the feet of Haramokh to insure a happy rebirth in the chain of life.

Our road holds none of the dangers of yesterday's perilous ledge-way above the Jhelum, so before we realize it we reach Srinagar in the centre of the "Happy Valley," a city of 150,000 people, that stretches for two miles along the racing Jhelum. This river is Srinagar's Main Street, for the earth-covered shops and homes of the principal native bankers and merchants line the river front, their semicircular balconies with elaborately carved windows and lattice work jutting out over the sweeping stream, as do mosques and Hindu temples and the Royal Palace itself. There are seven quaint bridges that cross the Jhelum here, all built on piers of crossed horizontal logs of wood, which harmonize most picturesquely with the wooden houses of the city. When you wish to go shopping, however, you do not use the bridges but engage a shikara, a Kashmiri gondola, and are paddled to the balconied marts where you sit in grandeur in a carved chair, your feet sunk in the deep velvet of a Kashmir rug, and drink tea from Lhasa and nibble the oily little cakes of your "host" while you lose your heart, your head and your bank account to the shawls and scarfs you can slip through a ring, to the boxes and chests of walnut carved so minutely that you are given a magnifying glass to distinguish the delicate designs, and to the rugs, beaten silver, gold trinkets, rings, jewels and all the bewitchments of Asia as alluring as the songs of sirens.

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*The Crocus Sativus, the saffron of Kashmir, is famous for its bouquet and its cultivation has been a local industry since ancient times. The flowers are dried in the sun and the pollen is extracted by hand. The pollen and the pollen-bearing portions of the flower are used for condiments and as a pigment for the sect-marks on Hindu foreheads.

†The mid-summer months are most unpleasant in the Vale due to the intense heat and humidity as well as to swarms of mosquitoes. The vacationists then migrate temporarily to Gulmarg or other places higher up the mountains.

Nedous, where we shall stay, is a fashionable European hotel of 600 rooms, built in a great double L, not on the Jhelum but near various canals, looking out over vast lawns and facing the City Common, which is the polo grounds of His Highness the Maharajah, known not long ago as the famous "Mr. A." in a notorious trial in England. While at Nedous we may ride horseback, play polo, float in luxury in one of the varied types of boats that make up the flotillas of Kashmir, hunt bear, stag, and ibex, ski, dance to an orchestra that would be well received in London, and get the latest Bombay papers and our mail brought by Chevrolet truck over the same 200 miles we have just driven, but you can't find a local newspaper, a railway, or water that runs from taps into your bath, in all Kashmir.

The majority of the people have a pronounced Jewish caste to their features and we may see many fine old patriarchal types who seem to have stepped out of the Bible. When we study their heavy noses and shrewd eyes we can understand the widely believed but unauthenticated legend that the Kashmiris are of the lost tribes of Israel. There are stories that some nineteen hundred years ago there lived in Kashmir a saint called Yus Asaf, who preached in parables, using many identical with those told by Christ, as for instance, the parable of the sower. Not long ago there died in the Punjab the founder of a curious sect who maintained that he was both the Messiah of the Jews and the Mahdi of the Moslems, and that Christ had been let down from the Cross and had disappeared, that he had later appeared in Kashmir and become known as Yus Asaf.

While the Mohammedans form the largest portion of the population and are found in every grade of social life, the indigenous Hindus of the Valley are generally called Pundits, and Kashmiri Pundits are known over all India for their keenness and subtlety of mind, their ingenuity and acumen. They are essentially townspeople and more than half of those who remain in Kashmir live in Srinagar. Great numbers have moved into Hindustan, where many of them are lawyers and prominent politicians.*

The Kashmiris are not cheery people like most hillmen of the Himalayas, and though of exceptional muscular strength and intelligence of mind, they persist in living in filth and squalor. But these dingy dwellers in Indian Arcadia who do not themselves fit into the beautiful tapestries of Kashmir landscape, carve the shutters of their dirty chalets with dainty and delicate designs and cover their mud roofs with exquisite mauve and purple irises, and fragrant narcissus.

There are new charms to be found every day in this "Garden of India," for that is what Kashmir has been for centuries and, as gardens are a distinct rarity in Asia with its sunbaked sterile plains, Kashmir was the goal of many pleasure-loving chieftains on both sides of the Khyber. We know that for centuries the country was ruled by Scythian princes, many of whom were Buddhists, and there are enormous ruins of old Buddhist temples built in Greek fashion by forgotten peoples who absorbed some of the glories of Greece in the days when Alexander defeated Poros on the banks of the Jhelum and left traces of Hellenic influence on art in sculptures and coins. The Tartars succeeded the Scythians and for five hundred years before Akbar joined the Vale to his Indian dominions Kashmir was in a perpetual state of internecine intrigue and strife, the same condition of treachery, warfare and unrest that has afflicted all India down the ages. There were a few wise and strong Princes, but they had no effect on the world outside the Vale.

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*Kashmiri Pundits who have migrated into British India have supplied four presidents to the Indian National Congress and many are leading members of the same Congress, the Independence movement and the Liberal Federation.

Akbar paid several visits to his "Northern Garden" and Jahangir and his beloved Nur Jahan were devoted to Kashmir, Nur Jahan bringing the first chenars, those great trees which are now the special glory of Kashmir, from her beloved Persia, and Jahangir building the stately pleasure gardens near Srinagar, the Shalimar and Nishat Baghs. Lalla Rookh, the heroine of Thomas More's beautiful poem, was the supposed daughter of Aurangzeb who on her journey from Delhi to the Valley of Kashmir was entertained by a young Persian poet who related to her four poetical tales of romance. Though Thomas More built his exquisite piece of fiction about a land he never saw, we see new actual beauties through the mirrors of his poetry. While Lalla Rookh may have been only a dream-girl, Aurangzeb certainly did visit the Vale.

Bernier, who went to Kashmir in 1665 in the train of Aurangzeb, evidently found a happy land, ruled justly by the Moghuls, for he makes no allusion, as do subsequent writers, to any miseries of the people, describing them as

> celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. In poetry and the sciences they are not inferior to the Persians and they are also very active and industrious. . . . The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and highly cultivated garden. Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage. Meadows and vineyards, fields of rice, wheat, hemp, saffron and many sorts of vegetables, among which are mingled trenches filled with water, rivulets, canals and several small lakes, vary the enchanting scene. The whole ground is enamelled with our European flowers and plants, and covered with our apple, pear, plum, apricot and walnut trees, all bearing fruit in great abundance.

Yet two hundred and fifteen years later two-thirds of the entire population of this fertile valley were dead from starvation. Why?

In 1750, after the Moghul Empire had disintegrated, Kashmir fell into the hands of the Afghans, the most barbarous and cruel of all the rulers in the world, who wrung assessments from the Kashmiris and forcibly converted nine-tenths of the Hindu population to Islam, the creed which they still follow. Their sufferings were so appalling that the people begged Ranjit Singh, the famed Lion of Lahore, who had united the Sikhs into a powerful kingdom in the Punjab,* to come to their rescue. After several unsuccessful attempts, Ranjit Singh expelled the Afghans from Kashmir in 1819 and annexed the country to his own dominions.

The Sikhs were not so savagely cruel as the Afghans but they were hard masters, oppressing the Kashmiris and despising them as cowards and weaklings; for these people have never been fighters, a Kashmiri soldier being practically a contradiction in terms. The Sikhs imposed such crushing taxes that not one-sixteenth of the fertile soil was under cultivation and many of the starving inhabitants fled into the plains of Hindustan. As soon as Ranjit Singh died, the Kashmiris revolted and killed their Governor. The Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, a Rajput who was one of the former commanders of Ranjit Singh, was sent by the new Sikh King to quell the mutiny. The Raja was from that time overlord and viceroy of Kashmir until in 1846, following the defeat of the Sikhs by the British and the incorporation of the Punjab into the Company's dominions, the English, on payment of $3,500,000 and an annual tribute of one horse, twelve perfect shawl-goats, and three pairs of Kashmir shawls, permitted him to become an independent ruler, the Maharajah of Kashmir and Jammu. Raja Gulab Singh was the great-great-uncle of the present Maharajah.

Gulab Singh as well as his son, who rendered valuable services to the British during the mutiny of 1857, did not do a great deal for the Kashmiris, although their lot gradually improved. Even the new assessments of land revenue were three times as heavy as the amount exacted by the British in the Punjab. The manufacture or production of silk, saffron, paper, tobacco, wine and salt were all State monopolies as well as the sale of all grain. Much of the rich valley was left untilled since the cultivators knew by experience that all surplus was seized by State officials. The taxes on the manufacture of shawls were prohibitive.

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*See page 193.

> The wool was taxed as it entered Kashmir; the manufacturer was taxed for every workman he employed, and at various stages of the process according to the value of the fabric; and, lastly, the merchant was taxed before he could export the goods, the enormous duty of 85 per cent ad valorem. Butchers, bakers, carpenters, boatmen and even prostitutes were still taxed, and coolies had to give up half their earnings.
>
> When this calamity (unusually wet and severe weather), which nowadays could be confidently met, fell upon the country, it was found that the people had nothing in reserve to fall back on; that the administrative machine was incapable of meeting the excessive strain; that even the will to meet it was wanting; and that corruption and obstruction impeded all measures of relief, and even forbade the starving inhabitants migrating to parts where food could be had. In addition, the communications were so bad that the food, so plentiful in the neighbouring province, could be imported only with the greatest difficulty. As a result two-thirds of the population died.*

While the remaining five years of this Maharajah's reign were spent in endeavoring to remedy the terrible state of affairs, the third Maharajah's succession in 1885 was synonymous with the real progress to present conditions. The British Government insisted upon alleviation of the people's burdens and it was the great work of the British Resident, Sir Walter Lawrence, that revolutionized land assessments, lifted grinding taxes by Government, and instituted various industries with the result that Kashmir has a State income double the former revenue in spite of reduced levies.

Fruits of all kinds are now grown in great abundance and quantities of rice are exported, the Kashmiris being exceptionally clever in raising this cereal and growing it up to an altitude of 7,000 feet. With so many streams running down from the mountains, ample water is supplied for copious irrigation and innumerable fields are terraced and banked along the mountainsides to hold the water. Fine crops of maize are raised in the black peaty lands lying along the Jhelum, and wheat and other food grains are extensively cultivated, the alluvial soil of the valley, which is continually enriched by the fecund silt from the mountains, and the fertilizing manure which is not sacred in this Moslem land, all aiding the slightest efforts by the hand of man.

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*"Kashmir," Sir Francis Younghusband, pages 161, 162, 163.

Sericulture and silk weaving are the principal industries, the state carefully guarding the mulberry trees which are indigenous to the country, their leaves being the food of the silk worms. The State silk factory at Srinagar is said to be the largest of its kind in the world. Carpets, carved woods, papier-maché and gold, silver and copper-smithy are all specialties of the country, the people excelling in artistic accomplishments which require infinite patience. Shawls, for which Kashmir is so famous, are seldom made these days, the production having fallen off sadly ever since the great hardships of 1877. Napoleon started the fad when he bought several in Egypt for the Empress Josephine, but now the art is almost non-existent and were it not for the yearly tribute to the British of six shawls, the industry would soon disappear.

While Kashmir is almost lacking in minerals, the State has great wealth in forests all of which are owned by the State, or in other words, the Maharajah. That this country of 82,000 square miles and 3,500,000 inhabitants to-day yields an annual revenue of 222 lakhs, or $8,000,000, is a tribute to British organization and the late Maharajah's co-operation.

The present Maharajah succeeded in 1925 after a period of such notoriety that for a while it was uncertain whether or not he would be disinherited. In 1923 he was a familiar figure in smart society in London where he was conspicuous in gay gatherings with his million-dollar strings of pearls, bejewelled turbans and fleets of cars. Diamond Jim Brady was a miser compared with this profligate Prince. Suddenly he left for India and scandal ran like wildfire through the clubs and drawing-rooms of all Europe as well as America. Sir Hari had been bled by the old badger game, played by an English woman of tarnished character, her husband and a confederate. In the trial that followed, the British Government tried to protect the heir to the important throne of Kashmir by forbidding the mention of his name, so he was referred to as "Mr. A." though the world and his wife knew that the lionized Prince was the victim who had paid and paid well.

Sir Hari was in a precarious position, for this heir to an orthodox Hindu dynasty had contaminated himself with a white woman, and his punishment endangered the peace of India. The Kashmiris, being mainly Moslems, did not mind his spiritual defilement, but they most strenuously objected to his squandering of millions of their money. The Hindu priests made him pay humiliating penances. He was compelled to shave his head and mustache, a degrading punishment in Hindu eyes, and a thoroughly cowed and chastened Prince spent ten days in sackcloth and ashes in the forests. When the late Maharajah was dying and the holy cow refused to enter his chamber, he was quickly carried outside to the cow so he could hold on to her tail as he breathed his last so that his holy mother (the cow) would conduct his soul to the heavenly regions, and then, and then only, was it known that Sir Hari was assured the throne and India and England were assured peace, for revolution in Kashmir would set India on fire and the gateway of the Khyber would undoubtedly be again deluged by torrents of Russians and Afghans pouring into a seething sub-continent.

But all is calm on the surface now and the Maharajah is winning the warmth of his people by feats at polo and attention to his Durbars, and for us Kashmir is as it was for Bernier long ago, "a terrestrial paradise." We can go on with our studies stimulated by the champagne climate and inspired by the glorious mountains, and if you decide to give up the Chamber of the Princes and linger until the first day of April, you may have just such an experience as I had one afternoon last year when it was so cold that my boatmen plied their heart-shaped oars with surprising alacrity as I sped down stream in a shikara to a woodcarver's shop, past the Hindu women pounding dirty clothes in the icy-brown Jhelum, past the squalid houses and dingy temples that thickly line the muddy banks. I was brooding on the pity of the filth, for the earth-covered roofs newly green with fresh young grass and crocus leaves seemed the only smiling answer to the smiling sky, when suddenly, wonder of wonders, my dazzled eyes beheld a little mosque on the edge of the river, its chalet-like roof covered with fresh greenery from which peered delicate mauve irises! Think of it, irises!

Oh, how far I would gladly journey to see again that little mosque, iris-roofed, with its tassel bells of brass and its graceful spire tapering skywards toward the snow-clad mountains shimmering so resplendently in the radiance of the smiling azure sky!

An Indian El Dorado

If instead of journeying up to Kashmir through Hyderabad we travel directly west from Madras into the lilac hills that rise soft and clear above the parched plains moiréd with glassy waves of heat, we shall reach an emerald land where the spice trees sway gently in a warm and scented breeze above the rice fields: Mysore.

Mysore is the third largest Indian State, with an area of 30,000 square miles, equal in size to Scotland. The 6,000,000 inhabitants, mainly Kanarese (non-Aryans), are ruled by a Rajput Maharajah who is one of the most progressive Princes in all India. The whole State is a land-locked tableland varying in elevation from 2,000 to 3,000 feet above sea level with mountain ranges and peaks rising to 6,000 feet, and with numerous streams and rivers, all too rocky or too shallow for navigation but adequate for extensive systems of irrigation and electric power.

Situated on a healthy plateau, receiving the benefit of both southwest and northeast monsoons, rich in gold fields mined by the most up-to-date electric methods, Mysore is blessed by nature and by her ruling house. The crops are varied and profuse, the forests are plentiful, the mines are affluent, while two constitutional bodies assist and influence the administration of a benevolent and broad-minded ruler. Geographically and politically, Mysore may be termed the Indian El Dorado.

The present Maharajah ascended the throne in 1902 after a minority during which the Government was carried on by his mother, the Maharani, and a Council of Regency who acted under instructions of the British Government in India through the Dewan, Sir K. Seshadri Iyar. The ruling family was established as early as the fifteenth century but was deposed by a Mohammedan chief, who was eventually defeated by the British during the governorship of Lord Cornwallis after the Moslem chieftain had ravaged all the surrounding country up to the very walls of Madras. The British restored the former dynasty but finally this house stirred up so much strife and was so oppressive that the British assumed the administration in 1831, under a treaty stipulation of 1799, and maintained the government, developed the country and supervised the education of the heir apparent until 1881 when it was decided that the Prince seemed fitted to rule. The Maharajah proved to be an excellent sovereign. He died in 1894, leaving a minor heir, so the British Council of Regency was supreme until 1902.

The Maharajah has continued the liberal administration ever since his ascension, the phenomenal act of this orthodox Hindu in appointing a Moslem Prime Minister being typical of his notable breadth of mind and sincerity of purpose to endow his people with a progressive government.

State colleges and technical schools are rendering conspicuous service in advancing literacy and modern methods of industry, while hospitals and sanitation are exceptionally up-to-date for feudal India. The Maharajah asked the Rockefeller Foundation to assist him, through their International Health Board, to make Mysore a cynosure for all India in health betterment and the Foundation has already accomplished a great deal. Unhampered by caste restrictions* and assisted by such benevolent progressiveness, Mysore is fast outstripping many of the Aryan States in educational and commercial advance.

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*The Kanarese, being non-Aryan, are necessarily low-caste. While social segregations are still sharp, agriculture is not despised by them as by the upper castes.

Ninety per cent of the people live by agriculture, but there are important industries such as hand-loom weaving and sericulture. The timbers, such as the sandalwood tree, are State monopolies, the sandalwood oil which is distilled from the wood being sold, with great profit, to America and Europe, and a limited quantity being exported to Japan. The Kolar Gold Fields, where about 20,000 men are employed, extend for an area of forty miles, and an average of about 390,000 ounces is mined each year, all of which is kept in India.*

Mysore is a sportsman's paradise, there being wild elephant, tiger, bear, antelope, wild pig and a great variety of small game, while the scenery is picturesque and diversified. Though I know Bangalore, the English cantonment and summer capital of the Madras Provincial Government, which is on a tract retained by the State of the same name, as well as the city of Mysore with its broad avenues and tree-lined streets, I cannot take you to the supreme beauty spot of the State for it is the one gem of nature I have not yet visited in India: The Gersoppa Falls, which drop from a height of 960 feet, five times higher than Niagara. The Sharavati River, which separates Mysore from British territory for a distance, narrows at one place and then divides into four separate falls, the Raja, the Roarer, the Rocket and La Dame Blanche, as it dashes over an abrupt precipice into a narrow gorge. If the Gersoppa are even half as magnificent as indicated by descriptions of friends who made the tedious trip, for they lie far from the beaten track, they alone are worth a journey to India.

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*The entire country still imports great quantities of the precious metals, the Indian peoples possessing the largest hoard of gold in the world. It is estimated that fully five billion dollars worth of metal is in the hands of the Indians. In the last thirty years over two billion dollars worth in metal and ornaments has been imported by individuals. The United States gold holdings are rated officially at only $3,000,700,000 and England's at only $750,000. The gold standard was recommended in 1926 by the Indian Currency Commission which further suggested that this standard should go into effect no later than January, 1931. The government approved.

Ramparts of the Rajputs

"Let old things abide, let no new thing come to pass," is graven deeply into the copper plates on which the Rajput rulers record their gifts of land. Here speaks the soul of this race of Spartan warriors whose stern ramparts rear in majestic defiance from the hilltops of Rajputana.

Udaipur, Jodhpur, Jaipur and Bundi are the capitals of the four original States which survive; the other territories in the Agency are either derived from these four or else they had their origin subsequent to them. We have already visited Chitor, oldest and richest in story of all the strongholds of the valiant Rajputs, which is now a dead city of proud ruins.

Jodhpur, capital of the State of the same name, rises sharply from the very heart of league after league of glaring sands: the desert of western Rajputana. The heat is so relentless on these alkaline wastes, which have only one seasonal stream that disappears into the thirsty sands when the rains are poor, that Kipling asserted in an apt simile that "Sukkur* in June would be Simla† to Jodhpur." This castle city is interesting, without question, but with such a wealth of places from which to choose we had better decide to follow the example of other visitors to India and eliminate its scarped bastions from our vacation programme and watch Jodhpur's Maharajah play polo in Rawal Pindi or Delhi, for he is one of the greatest polo-players in India. Jodhpur breeches are so called because a former Prince of this State evolved them and to-day many Indian gentlemen wear light-gray frock-coats and white drill jodhpurs as day dress.

Jaipur is widely heralded as "the rose pink city," "the city of dreams," and many other rhapsodic titles, but frankly I found it ginger-bready and garish, its "rose-pink" buildings but shaky looking structures of mauve-tinged terra-cotta, smacking strongly of stage sets. I cannot but agree with Lord Curzon's perhaps overly caustic comment: "The rose-red city over which Sir Edwin Arnold has poured the copious cataract of a truly Telegraphise Vocabulary, struck me when I was in India as a pretentious plaster fraud."

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*The scorching Sind Desert.

†The hill station in northern India, 7,500 feet above sea level and therefore always cool.

Nevertheless this artifical but clean and prosperous city has claims to distinction in that it was the first ever laid out on geometrical lines, its main streets being 111 feet wide and absolutely parallel one to the other. We understand a bit why the British in India seldom quote Mr. Kipling when he turns his barbed comments on us, saying: "Many years afterwards, the good people of America builded their towns after this pattern, but knowing nothing of Jai Singh,* they took all the credit to themselves."

The brass bazaars with their noted "Jaipur" enamelled and beaten ware are well worth visiting and there is one fantastic building that intrigues the interest called "The Hall of the Winds," which is a fanciful bit of architecture, but to behold it and then to read Sir Edwin Arnold's effusive description makes any one conclude that Lord Curzon wasn't *overly* caustic after all.

Perhaps you will discover the charm that eluded me in Jaipur but I'm confident you will find Amber, the deserted stronghold and former capital of the Jaipur Maharajahs, just seven miles distant, as heart-stirring in its solitude as Akbar's dream city of Fatehpur Sikri, and as magnificent in its architecture.

Amber, with its stupendous fortress and marble palaces, stands on the crest of a great hill similar to Chitor, but Amber is surrounded by castle-crested hills and overhanging cliffs, and at its feet is a shimmering lake, once a defensive water, now a flower-fringed pool of beauty. Jai Singh, the first, denuded the nearby mountains of their marble (we are close to the Carrara of India) and built a Dewan-a-Khas and zenanas with marble screens and trellissed balconies as glorious as those at Delhi and Agra. But he was not satisfied to exult quietly over his achievements and boasted loudly that his castles equalled those of the Moghuls. The Great Moghul was infuriated and sent envoys to behold the work of Jai Singh, swearing that if the Rajput's braggartry was justified he'd shatter every stone and every stanchion.

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*The mathematically minded and astronomy-loving Maharajah who ordered Jaipur built on the straight line principle in 1728.

Now the Rajput was a man of resource and when he heard of the mission of the approaching envoys he ordered his magnificent pillars to be covered with stucco. The trick succeeded and the emissaries reported to Delhi that Jai Singh was a rank charlatan. We can see some of the plaster camouflage still coating part of the great pillars, but elsewhere the red sandstone glints like polished rubies while other columns are of green-gray marble.

The only sign of life in this once great stronghold is in the Hindu temple dedicated to bloody Kali, goddess of fear and terror, wife of Siva, the destroyer. Every day the priests offer a goat to the leering idol of fearsome rites and horrible sacrifices in lieu of a once-upon-a-time (and that not so long ago) human sacrifice. Twice yearly offerings of buffaloes are also made to appease this terrifying deity.

Such is the land of India: splendor and squalor; sublimity and savagery.

And now we may return to the beautiful "City of Sunrise"* with its gleaming towers and fairy castles: Udaipur.† Here we step back into the chivalrous days of yore, for Udaipur is steeped in valorous tradition and mediæval custom. "Let old things abide, let no new thing come to pass" is here, more than anywhere else in Rajputana, a living code unswervingly upheld.

His Highness the Maharajah, divine descendant of Kusha, the elder son of the god-man Rama, high priest and king of a million and a half subjects, holds dynastic claims to the veneration in which he is held by all Hindus as the head of the premier house of India in point of ancestry and to the worship of all his children of the Sun, the people of Udaipur. Cleaving to the ideals of the Middle Ages with an amazing and indiscriminate tenacity, believing change, in sober truth, to be "darkness deeper far than death," the old Maharajah ruled with an iron hand and a benevolent heart.*

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*It was in this city that we visited the Hindu temple: Chapter III.

†Bundi, the fourth of the original Rajput States, is inaccessible to the traveller.

Resplendent in golden brocades, crooked swords with jewelled hilts and damascened blades swinging at their sides, the Rajput Sir Lancelots sway in velvet howdahs atop the huge pachyderms as they make their way along the sinuous streets to the palace to pay homage to their liege lord, high priest and guardian of the purity of the Rajput blood.

Even the tillers of the soil and merchants of the marts stride haughtily in this Land of the Sun, accepting proudly the feudal discipline of iron that exacts, in the local apothegm, "Your sweat, my blood": the law laid down to the workers by the aristocrats.

In this shining city of snow-white castles that border the beautiful Pinchola Lake which is gemmed with two islands covered by gardens and marble palaces,† the whole setting cupped in the heart of wooded hills, we could happily linger far more than the appointed three weeks. Here you may take all your superlative adjectives from out the dictionary and still find them inadequate to fit the picture pageantries of clashing contrasts and captivating color in this mediæval city by day, and dream city by night, when we drift on the shimmering waters of the moonlit lake between two sparkling worlds—the sky scintillating above with stars and its refulgent reflection below—our boat trailing a furrow of molten silver.

I promised you a magic world where life streams by like a fabulous dream. Here it is!

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*The aged Maharajah died in May, 1930, after a patriarchal reign of many years.

†In one of these paaces Shah Jahan, while still Prince, lived during his revolt against his father, the Emperor Jahangir, and later English women and children found refuge and sanctuary during the Mutiny of 1857.

CHAPTER IX

BEDROCK OF NATIONALISM

Currents of Consolidation

NATIONAL thought and national government are not possible unless the various streams of political consciousness are able to flow one into another in interpretable and transmittable currents. They must possess a common carrier of communication before a national spirit can arise, expand and grow into a comprehensive and constructive whole. The English language is proving to be one of these common carriers in India. It is the fluid that is uniting the various distinct and unblended components into a mortar which constitutes the very foundation of national aspiration.

When the British arrived in India, education was held to be the sacred right of the Brahmans. The Abbé Dubois wrote in the beginning of the nineteenth century:

> [The Brahmans] saw well enough what moral ascendancy knowledge would give them over the other castes, and they therefore made a mystery of it by taking all possible precautions to prevent other classes from obtaining access to it. . . . I do not believe that the Brahmans of modern times are, in any degree, more learned than their ancestors of the time of Lycurgus and Pythagoras. During this long space of time many barbarous races have emerged from the darkness of ignorance, have attained the summit of civilization, and have extended their intellectual researches . . . yet all the time the Hindus have been perfectly stationary. We do not find amongst them any trace of mental or moral improvement, any sign of advance in the arts and sciences. Every impartial observer must, indeed, admit that they are now very far behind the peoples who inscribed their names long after them on the roll of civilized nations.*

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*"Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies," pages 376–377.

The Abbé Dubois is only one of a great number of authorities on Indian life who agree, without a dissenting voice,* that whatever the Brahmans may have achieved in intellectual fields in the dim ages of India, they rested on their accomplishments and did not themselves advance through the succeeding centuries nor share their past attainments with their fellow men. It was the British alone who established and upheld the right of all classes and all castes to schools, colleges and universities.

As early as 1781 Warren Hastings, then Governor-General of India, purchased a site in Calcutta for a Moslem College and assisted Sir William Jones† in founding the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The British Resident at Benares established the Sanskrit College there in 1792. William Wilberforce succeeded in having Parliament stipulate in the East India Company's Act of 1813 that the Governor-General should set apart a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees ($36,000) in each year for the encouragement of education in India. The sum assessed the English merchants was not large, it is true, but the clause in itself was an exemplary accomplishment because at that time no government in England had ever promoted the education of the British by public grants. For the first time the right of education to share in the public revenues was acknowledged by legislature. In the years subsequent to 1823 far larger sums than the stipulated lakh were granted annually.

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*The late Lajpat Rai, foremost disciple of Mr. Gandhi and leader in the Nationalist party, did write in his "England's Debt to India," pages 299–300: "Old Hindu India was universally educated as well as literate. During Moslem domination, India was only partly educated and partly literate. . . . Education and literacy in medieval India were in no way less than the same in medieval Europe. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, India had as much education and literacy as Europe. The nineteenth century, however, has brought almost a complete revolution. It is an age of universal literacy. Under modern conditions, literacy is the necessary road to economic efficiency, and that is denied to India. . . . The Government has made no provision for the instruction of the masses." Mr. Lajpat Rai's work is a philippic against England and this chapter, which appears milder in quotation than when incorporated in his book, is overlaid with insinuating indictment, for following these last words he gives the low ratio of school attendance in India with no word of Indian conditions or Indian restrictions. His statements in regard to past literacy and learning in India are not endorsed by history nor are his charges in regard to present Government efforts substantiated by fact. Mr. Lajpat Rai, however, cannot be classified as an authority on Indian life, past or present, however clever and sagacious he was in politics.

†The eminent scholar who placed before the European world translations of Vedic literature which he had unearthed in his researches into Hindu ethnology, history and customs in his efforts to establish an equitable basis for the Company's administration. It was this Englishman who stirred the world's interest in Sanskrit.

Assistance in the education of the Indians being determined upon, there arose a controversy as to what language should be the medium of teaching. There was no such simple choice as between Hindustani and Persian. The number of dialects which were spoken in this veritable Babel may be surmised when we know that as late as 1921 there were 220 listed vernaculars of six distinct families of speech which were in common use in India.* The languages with the widest currency were (and are) "Hindi" and "Urdu."† But Hindustani has never been a predominating speech in this land of confused tongues. The linguistic jealousies of the numerous Hindu and Moslem communities could not easily be appeased. To suggest that the Dravidians of southern India could abandon Tamil and Telegu in favor of some form of Indo-Aryan speech, or that the people of Bengal, Orissa or Gujarat would honor some native language other than ther own, had the effect of a declaration of war.

Both language and literature of each class of peoples were inseparable from their religious beliefs and their social or caste obligations. The substance of Sanskrit literature is hierarchical, not national, and its metaphysical nature is in vital variance with the militant spirit of Arabic and Persian classics. No intellectual or spiritual compromise could reconcile Brahman philosophy with the fiery dogmatism of the Koran. The one solution for the complex and critical situation of ingrained antipathies and antagonisms was the adoption of English in the higher schools.

This happy decision has continued to be both acceptable and advantageous to the Indians. Nearly all the debating in the various Indian legislatures is conducted in English as the necessary medium of communication. Even Gandhi's Swaraj Party has adopted its use, although Gandhi impugns it as a "crime against the country, indeed humanity; because they [Indian politicians] are a stumbling block in the progress of our own country . . . the English language and the English people occupy a place in our life which retards our progress and theirs as well."*

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*Census of India, 1921, vol. 1, part 1, page 193.

†A language that developed from the necessary Court and camp contacts between Hindus and Moslems. The name "Urdu" is derived from the Turki word "urdu" or "camp." The grammar and structure of this language is mainly Hindi while the words are largely Persian. Arabic words are also numerous as well as Sanskrit. What was at first a vernacular developed into an authoritative literary form of the tongue with its own literature.

In 1817 David Hare, an English merchant and agnostic, assisted a notable Hindu reformer, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, in erecting a secular Hindu College for "The tuition of the sons of respectable Hindoos in the English and Indian language and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia." In 1818, three British Baptist missionaries established a school near Calcutta which is still in existence, and two years later the Anglican Church opened a college. In 1830 Alexander Duff, aided by the same admirable Raja Ram Mohun Roy, founded a college constituting the fourth of higher learning in India.

India's educational advancement continued swiftly. Thomas Macaulay's Minute of 1835 firmly established Western pedagogy, definitely linking higher education in India with the English language.

Lord Auckland's Minute of 1839 decided that

> Although English is to be retained as the medium of the higher instruction in European literature, philosophy and science, the existing oriental institutions are to be kept up in full efficiency and are to receive the same encouragement as might be given to the students at English institutions. Vernacular instruction is to be combined with English, full choice being allowed to the pupils to attend whichever tuition they might individually prefer.

Sir Charles Wood's Educational Despatch in 1854 determined the whole subsequent course of Indian educational development by imposing upon the Government of India the duty of creating a properly articulated system from the pri-

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Young India, December 17, 1925. Mr. Gupta, who was already rendering notable service to his people in Bengal when Mr. Gandhi first arrived in South Africa (1893), holds the opposite opinion. "The impress of their [the British] labours, of their civilization, permeates every sphere of our national life. . . . The most vital symbol of the Indian nationality is the noble English language which is the *lingua franҫa* of all educated Indians."

mary school to the university. The years which immediately followed witnessed the establishment of Departments of Public Instruction in all the provinces and the founding of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. All subsequent developments were a sequence of that policy.

The principal milestones on the road so laboriously travelled since that date are described in the survey of the auxiliary Committee delegated to conduct a special inquiry for the Indian Statutory Commission.* The resulting Review was published in October, 1929, and is available to all who are interested in studying the successive stages of English efforts to extend education throughout the subcontinent of India.

Eight new universities have been established even since 1920 and two similar institutions were founded between 1916 and 1918. The number of art colleges affiliated with universities increased from 152 in 1922 to 232 in 1927, and the students enrolled in them from 45,770 to 65,991.† The University of Calcutta with its 58 affiliated colleges and 29,000 students is the largest university in the world with the exception of Columbia University in New York, yet in India only 16 in every thousand men and 2 in every thousand women were literate in English in 1921, according to the official census of that year. However, in the ranks of this meagre minority are to be found eminent lawyers and distinguished judges, many fine scholars, writers, engineers, scientists and industrialists, who are accomplishing much in their respective fields even though they are not such titan figures as Sir Rabindranath Tagore,‡ Sir Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman,§ Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose,¶ Sir

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*This committee consisted of Sir Philip Hartog, Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge, Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmed, Sir George Anderson, Raja Narendra Nath, M. L. C., and Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi, M. L. C., all prominent British, Moslem and Hindu educationists.

†Indian Statutory Commission Report, vol. 1, page 390.

‡The life and literary achievements of this Brahman member of the Brahmo Samaj are so well known no listing is necessary.

§An orthodox Brahman who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics (1930). He was educated at the Presidency College in Madras. He was Associate Lecturer at Toronto in 1924 and Research Associate at the California Institute of Technology, also in 1924. He is Palit Professor of Physics at Calcutta University.

¶A Kayastha caste member of the Brahmo Samaj, who stands pre-eminent in certain fields of Biological research. He was educated at Calcutta University and at Christ College, Cambridge. He is Professor Emeritus of Presidency College, Calcutta, Founder

Sankaran Nair,* Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru,† the late Sir Raibahadur Ganga Ram‡ and Sir Umar Hayat Khan.§

In view of the continued attempts of English officials and a number of high-minded Indians to encourage oriental and occidental learning both in the English language and Indian dialects, primarily through mass education and secondarily through higher institutions, it seems proclamatory of either inefficiency on the part of the government, or indifference or resistance on the part of the people, that only 14.4 per cent of the men and only 2 per cent of the women of all British India are even primarily literate.¶ These percentages are even further reduced when the statistics for Burma are withdrawn. Burma stands apart from all other provinces of British India not only by geography, but by race and religion. The creed of Buddhism, which encourages erudition in direct contrast to the discouragement and even denial of education by Hindu canons, has much to do with the literacy of 51 per cent of the Burmese males and 11.2 per cent of the Burmese females.

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and Director of Bose Research Institute and publisher of series of papers on electric waves and other electric phenomena, plant responses and electro-physiology of plants.

*Member of that unusual caste, the Nairs, who follow their descent through the mother. He was educated at Madras Presidency College, has been High Court Vakil, Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor to the Government of Madras, Judge of the High Court of Madras, member of the Governor-General's Executive Council in India, 1915-1919, member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, 1919-1921, elected member, Council of State, November, 1925, chairman of Central Legislative Committee with Simon Commission, 1928. He was founder and for some time editor of the *Madras Review*, *Madras Law Journal* and the *Madras Standard*, a daily newspaper. He is the author of "Gandhi and Anarchy" which I quote frequently in Chapter XI.

†A Kashmiri Brahman, who was educated at Agra College, Agra. He was advocate of the High Court of Allahabad, 1896–1926, member of the U. P. Legislative Council, 1913–1916, member Imperial Legislative Council, 1916–1920, member of All-India Congress Commission, 1906–1917, member of the Court, Syndicate and Senate of Benares Hindu University, Law member of the Governor's Executive Council, retired, 1922, member of the Imperial Conference in London, 1923; presided over All-India Liberal Federation in 1923, member of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, 1924, and delegate to the Round Table Conference in London, November, 1930 and 1931.

‡A Hindu Punjab industrialist who is now dead but whose works are living deeds. He was a civil engineer who started life in a modest position and rose to be a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council. He was the first man to use the power of the flow of the great canals of the Punjab to make electricity which lifted the water of the canals for a height of six or seven feet, thus opening up vast lands which otherwise would have never been irrigated by those canals. He was a daring pioneer.

§A Moslem who is Tiwana of Shahpore, in the Punjab. This man of princely rank is one of the most famous of the Agrarians in India. He has done notable work for the area over which he rules.

¶All statistics of literacy are from the Census of India, 1921.

> The test of literacy for census purposes is satisfied if the individual is considered to be able to write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it. The distinction of being literate in an Indian village is in most cases sufficiently rare to be known to the village officer, and since the prescribed test manifestly could not be applied individually, in many cases the man's own assertion, or the knowledge of his neighbours as to his capacity, must have been used to assist the enumerator.*

Since "literacy" applies to any one of the 222 dialects in arriving at the respective 14 per cent and 2 per cent, there are further complications in deducing exact figures. Let us use these inclusive percentages for the sake of convenience even though we are aware that the estimates are broad.

The British are being assailed and indicted on every side by Indians who claim, "We are the most civilized people in the world. The British maliciously and avariciously deny our people education in order to keep us serfs beneath their heels."† What is the damning proof of the cause of low literacy? Whose is the guilt?

The census of March, 1921, recorded 318,942,000 inhabitants‡ to be the total populace of India. Let us call the number roughly 320,000,000. Seventy per cent of the total are Hindus, or 224,000,000 persons. Let us analyze these figures in order to understand where the blame lies for this low ratio of literacy.

HINDU STATISTICS

Assuming one-half of the Hindu population to be women, we shall deal first with 112,000,000 of the total. Why are less than 2 per cent literate? The answer is religion.

Child marriage is no mere custom brought about by the belief that chastity is thereby better preserved in a tropical country where maturity and physical desire are prevalent at an age earlier than in the temperate zone, nor is this practice confined to certain communities. Child marriage is the stringent law of the social system and religious alliance which are incorporated in Hinduism. It is a social requirement and spiritual law that a girl must marry before puberty in order to insure her purity and training according to the dictates of her husband's family. Marriage after puberty is always a social sin and generally a religious one.

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*Indian Statutory Commission Report, vol. 1, page 383.

†Mr. Lajpat Rai who claims that government has "so far refused even elementary instruction in the three R's to our masses," and that "The Government has made no provision for the instruction of the masses" is one of the mildest accusers. Mr. Gandhi in *Young India*, March 25, 1926, page 112, declares, "We rightly charge the English rulers for our helplessness and lack of initiative and originality." To quote from the vehement complainants would require a volume in itself.

‡One-fifth of the whole world's population. The Census for 1931 has been completed but the full report will not be issued until 1932.

In the census for India, 1921, Appendix VII, it is said: "It can be assumed for all practical purposes that every woman is in the married state at or immediately after puberty and that cohabitation therefore begins in every case with puberty." It is not exceptional in this torrid land for puberty to develop at the age of eight or nine,* with consequent child-birth at nine or ten. For motherhood to begin as late as fourteen is decidedly rare.

According to Hindu doctrines, a girl-child's soul is cleansed of the taint of original sin only by the sacrament of marriage. To bring forth a son nine months after puberty is to assure for her the respect of her husband and her family. According to Baudhayana law a girl who is unmarried when she reaches maturity is degraded to the rank of at least a Sudra and her father is held to have committed a grave sin himself by not enforcing her marriage.† In a large percentage of cases, a girl also loses her caste if she remains sterile. If, for either of these or any one of several other reasons, she loses the caste position into which she was born, she is an out-caste from the house of her husband, her parents and the civil and religious communities of Hinduism. The only source of livelihood for a child out-caste is prostitution. So whether by marriage or prostitution, children are brought into the world by children at the instance of one of the basic laws of Hindu Orthodoxy.

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*"Witnesses from Bengal and Madras state that in classes amongst whom early marriage prevails, puberty may even begin at 8, 10 or 11 years." Report of the Age of Consent Committee, page 160. "No case of pregnancy at an earlier age than 8 to 9 has been recorded." *Ibid.*, page 336.

†See Chapter V.

Child-marriage and child-motherhood necessarily deny education to the feminine half of the Hindu population. As Mr. B. Mukherjee, M.A., F.R.E.S. affirms:

> The strict social system which makes the marriage of a girl religiously compulsory at the age of twelve or so also puts an end to all hope of continuing the education of the ordinary Hindu girl beyond the [marriageable] age.*

When the same standards of literacy are applied to inhabitants twenty years of age and over, the 2 per cent of literacy among women remains constant, while the literacy of men rises from 14 per cent to 17 per cent, which is further proof that child marriage removes girls permanently from schools.

The mentality that sees spiritual salvation in marrying children before physical development, naturally recognizes little virtue in mental development. The Indian appreciation of values is diametrically opposed to Western standards. It is Indian pride that has fired their political ambition to dart ahead to Western platforms blindly and uncomprehendingly, discarding the necessary steps of self-education to self-judgement to self-government. It is the *essential spiritual valuation* of Hinduism that denies education to girl children.

In 1919 nine-tenths of 1 per cent of the Hindu feminine population were in schools of any grade. In 1922 there were 23,778 schools for girls in British India,† the pupils being divided as follows: 1,297,643 in primary grades; 24,555 in middle grades and 5,818 in the high schools.‡ In other words, only little more than four-tenths of 1 per cent of the already small portion of girl children who entered the primary grades remained for higher education in 1922. Yet the infinitesimal four-tenths of 1 per cent represented a 30 per cent increase over the number of pupils of 1917 who advanced above the primary grades.

In 1911 1 per cent of the entire feminine population were literate. In 1921, when the last census was taken, the number had been increased by eight-tenths of 1 per cent. To-day, by calculation, 2 per cent are literate.

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*Calcutta University Commission Report, vol. XII, page 440.

†In 1926 this number had increased to 27,110.

‡Progress of Education in India, 1917–1922, vol. II.

Hindu tenets condemn erudition for women as unnecessary, unorthodox and dangerous to the institutions of their homes, society and religion. In 1917, in response to the investigations of a committee of eminent British, Moslem and Hindu educationalists who were appointed by Lord Chelmsford, then Viceroy of India, to inquire into the educational conditions of the University of Calcutta and its tributary schools and colleges, we find Mr. Brajalal Chakravarti, Secretary of the Hindu Academy at Daulatpur, stating: "It is strictly enjoined in the religious books of the Hindus that females should not be allowed to come under any influence outside that of the family. For this reason, no system of school and college education can be made to suit their requirements. . . . Women get sufficient moral and practical training in the household and that is far more important than the type of education schools can give."* Mr. Haridas Goswamy, Head Master of the High School at Asansol and Mr. Rabindra Mohan Dutta, member of the faculty of Calcutta University, are two others who endorse the orthodox statutes of Hinduism which deny women educational enlightenment.

Mr. Mohini Mohan Bhattacharjee, also member of the faculty of Calcutta University, declares:

> The higher education of Indian women . . . may almost be said to be beyond the scope of practical reform. No Hindu or Mohammedan woman of an orthodox type has ever joined a college or even read up to the higher classes in a school. The girls who receive University education are either Brahmo† or Christian. . . . The time is far distant when the Universities will be called upon to make arrangements for the higher education of any large or even a decent number of girls in Bengal.

Orthodox Hinduism therefore cripples the Indian peoples by dismembering half of its intellectual resources.

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*Calcutta University Commission Report, vol. XII, page 414.

†An advanced Theistic sect of only 6,388 members according to the Census of India, 1921, page 119. See our interview with the Missionary. Sir Herbert Risley, in "Peoples of India," pages 80 and 192, agrees with Sir Henry Cotton that "the self-assertive portion of the Brahmo community appears to be in the course of forming a new caste."

The male 50 per cent are reduced by the number of "Untouchables," who compose 30 per cent of the Hindu and 20 per cent of the total population. Since we have already subtracted the entire feminine Hindu quota, we shall necessarily take only 15 per cent from the male populace, leaving 95,800,000 or only 35 per cent of the entire numbers of Hindus available for education in all India according to Hindu doctrines.

While some of the finest trained minds in India are to be found among the women and the "Untouchables," these are the daring and courageous souls who have broken the fetters of traditional restrictions or caste hatred and forged ahead as pioneers. Individual fortitude has impelled their progress, not collective inspiration.

MOSLEM STATISTICS

Early Mohammedanism restricted learning to the reading of the Koran. The Caliph Omar instructed: "Burn the libraries, for their value is in this book."* This doctrine was later modified, although many have continued to believe that all but Moslem literature is impure.

The conquering Moslems who came to rule in India were a virile, militant race, far too occupied in fighting to bother about book knowledge. Under Akbar, Brahmans were permitted to do much of the clerical work of government while the Islamites attended to the enforcement of authority. The Brahmans felt no religious compunction in learning Persian, which was the language of the law, the court, and the government.

In 1834 Governor-General Sir William Bentinct changed the official language of the Courts of Justice from Persian to English. The Moslems, although no longer dominant in India, bitterly resented this further symbol of their decadent power. Persian was irrevocably linked to their creed of Islam and their past glory of rule. Loyalty and pride spurred a revolt against the rise of English, the tongue of the Christians and therefore (to them) the vehicle of Christianity. They refused the educational facilities of the government, and only the growth of representative administration, which gave the Hindus not only the balance of power because of their vast majority but the force of union through the medium of the English tongue, jarred the Moslems into a sudden realization of their precarious political position. Protection by the British had permitted them to segregate themselves from governmental participation with full security from oppression, but autonomous legislatures filled with Hindus was a situation which they considered perilous to their safety. Co-operation with the British was suddenly recognized to be vitally necessary to their communities in order to forestall Hindu dictation and Hindu domination. The Ulema* of Madras declared to Lord Montague, Secretary of State for India,

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*"Representative Men," page 41, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

> Verily, Polytheists are unclean. In case the British Government were to hand over the administration, as desired by the Hindus, it would be contrary to the Sacred Law of Mussulmans to live under them, Polytheists.†

It is only since the enactment of the Montague-Chelmsford reforms that the majority of the Moslems have accepted the principle of the fitness of English erudition and the need of training in office as new kinds of weapons for race advancement.

Acceptance of the principle has not secured the attendance of girls of purdah age nor induced the majority of boys to go even to secular schools. Nevertheless, the proportion of Moslem pupils to Moslem population is now slightly higher than the proportion of pupils of all races to the total population. In the ten years between 1917 and 1927, the number of Mohammedan students in all recognized institutions increased from 1½ to 2½ millions. Due to purdah restrictions of girls and lure of outdoor pursuits to the natively active boys, the "wastage"* among the Moslems is appreciably greater than the general ratio.† While Mohammedan children in the primary grades represent 24.9 per cent of the total attendance in that division, they comprise only 16 per cent in the middle grades and only 13.5 per cent in the high schools.

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*The council of official interpreters of the Koran which determines the policies and actions of the Moslems.

†"Addresses Presented in India to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India," pages 63–84. On June 1, 1931, the All-India Moslem Conference adopted resolutions antagonistic to Hindu domination, including the insistence that no joint electorates with Hindus be written into any new constitution. The President of the Conference said: "Moslems would rather die fighting for preservation of their rights than to accept slavery at the hands of the infidels."

In 1919 1.1 per cent of the Moslem feminine population were in schools, while only .9 per cent of the Hindu women were students during that same year. From 1916 to 1926 the percentage of all female scholars to the total population increased from .9 per cent to 1.3 per cent.

In 1920 a fresh impetus was given to the education of Mohammedans by the elevation of the Aligarh and Dacca colleges to the status of universities, which, although not communal in intent, draw their pupils from Eastern Bengal, a predominatingly Moslem area. Although the Moslem students in universities and art colleges still comprise only 12 per cent of the total scholars, their number has been increased from 5,212 in 1917 to 8,456 in 1927.

OTHER CONTRIBUTING CIRCUMSTANCES

There are other causes for the low average of Indian literacy, one of the principal factors being the distribution of nine-tenths of the population in a half million villages which are scattered throughout a land of almost 2,000,000 square miles in area. Education of the peasantry of any country offers difficulties of adequate schooling. In India the problem reaches monstrous proportions.

The agricultural populace lives in clusters of mud or bamboo houses which are huddled together in the midst of the fields which provide the peasants with their livelihood. In the south and east the holdings average five acres. In 1921 90 per cent of the inhabitants were found to be living in the same district in which they were born, and of the balance two out of three were found in a contiguous area.*

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*"Wastage," according to the application of the Auxiliary Committee, represents the number of children who do not advance from one class to a higher grade because they forsake the school for the traditional duties of Indian childhood.

†The general wastage in 1925–1926 between classes I and II was 72.4 per cent; II and III 34.6 per cent; III and IV 30.5 per cent and IV and V 40.2 per cent, Memoranda to Indian Statutory Commission, Part II, page 1169.

Traditional home life and traditional occupation induce traditional viewpoints. The Indian cultivator more than any other in the world is imbued with the spirit of "what was good enough for me is good enough for my child." His religion teaches and his caste dictates that he accept, not that he advance. Spiritually and socially he is permitted no elevation. Lack of contact with the outside world has denied him perspective. He cannot possibly understand the commercial advantages of technical training. Even if he be willing to submit for a year or two to the urgence of government that his child attend school, as soon as that child can help in the fields or the home, economic pressure adds its determining weight to the chains of his creed.

The 500,000 villages* require thousands of schools and thousands of teachers. The best teachers for girls and small children are women. Custom and creed deny the establishing of women in such positions, custom demanding the accompaniment of a woman's husband for protection in public, and creed restricting the supply of adequate women teachers. A vanguard of progressive women is steadily but slowly increasing in number, but the total is insufficient for even a limited, much less an extensive, teaching service. In 1922, out of the 123,500,000 women in British India only 4,391† were students in Teachers' Training Schools and of these 2,050 were Christian converts, although the total number of Christians comprise only 1.5 per cent of the entire population. The figures for Training colleges disclose two colleges for women in 1921 with 56 students and six colleges in 1926 with 184 students.

To the difficulties of expanse of territory and limited number of literates educationally fitted for teaching, are added the constrictions of caste. Hinduism is the only religion that degrades and condemns the tillers of the soil as unworthy of respect. In India the cultivators who nurture the land and produce the food are the principal workers of the country. Labor is dishonored and the cultivators are perforce low-castes, with few exceptions. Since caste laws forbid intercaste contact, the teachers themselves are obliged to be drawn from the ranks of their pupils. Since the majority of the actual cultivators are Sudras, the most urgently required teachers must be Sudras.

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*Census of India Report, 1921, page 83.

†Progress of Education in India, 1917–1922, vol. II, pages 14–15. The Indian Statutory Commission Report uses the general figure of 500,000 villages. The Census for 1921 lists 687,935 places, including 2,313 towns with a population of 32,418,776 and 685,622 divisions of rural territory with a population of 283,598,975.

Many gallant women are to-day pioneers in blazing a trail of admirable assistance in advancing the whole texture of Indian viewpoint. Their small number are almost wholly confined to the large municipalities where Western contact has fostered and furthered the breaking of the bonds of segregation. It is to be hoped that with time the courageous feminine leaders will add their plebeian sisters to their legion. This stupendous undertaking would necessitate the revolutionizing of the entire basic measuring of values of the religious laws and social statutes of a people three times the population of the United States, engendered in and infused with those standards since centuries before Christ. If the women of India can break through the iron walls of creeds and canons and rise to such colossal heights, they will have accomplished more than womankind has ever achieved.

In addition to the great hosts that are deterred in educational development by codes of religion, there are 20,000,000 aboriginals and hillmen who are far too wild and primæval to come in contact with even the agricultural Indians of the villages.

It is thus seen that the remedies for illiteracy rest largely in the hearts and minds of the Indians themselves. Hinduism is the gigantic stone in the path of progress.

On all sides in India and even in the outside world the natives deplore the British efforts in behalf of education and decry their sincerity. "They want my peoples to be ignorant! They want us to be their slaves!" is heard on many tongues. Complete compilations and compendiums adequately disprove these impeachments, but that the internal organization of educational institutions, and the methods and content of instruction need to be improved is the expressed opinion and intent of the British administrators.

Yet where does the blame largely lie? In a country inflicted by ravages of droughts and floods of the monsoon, where 70 per cent of the people subsist or starve according to the dictates of this cyclonic tempest, the harnessing of nature by the hand of man is a vital need. Agricultural Colleges offer facilities for training and yet in 1923-1924 the 11,222 graduates from thirteen universities in British India were divided as follows: 7,822 in arts and sciences, 2,046 in law, 546 in educational training, 446 in medicine, 140 in engineering, and only 86 in agriculture.* Desire for prestige is the major cause of this top-heavy distribution of learning. A degree suitable for government office gives a certain rise in caste rank and an increased valuation in the marriage market, while even the highest branches of agricultural training deny repute. Supreme efforts have been made by the British Department of Agriculture to attain improved methods of cultivation, fertilization of the soil, care of domestic animals and to introduce high-bred grades of stock. In spite of staffs of experts, supplied by the government to inculcate modern methods among the natives, these endeavors have been solidly repulsed.

In repelling the efforts of government, the people are condemning themselves to suffering. As Mr. Gupta states:

> Agriculture is the form of industry which is perhaps the most suited to the health of the people and the climatic conditions of the country. Moreover, there is a remarkable parallelism between agricultural prosperity and health conditions, and the decline of agriculture in any part of the country has been invariably followed by the prevalence of disease. From this point of view alone agriculture should be entitled

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*Statistical Abstract for British India, 1914–15 to 1923–24, page 279. The Memoranda to I. S. C., page 1203, states there were 7 Agricultural Colleges in 1916 and 1921 with 487 students and 724 students respectively. In 1926 the colleges had been increased to nine institutions with 1,015 students, including the Government College at Coimbatore, Poona, Lyallpur, Nagpur, Cawnpore, Mandalay, the Mission College at Allahabad, the Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry at Bangalore and the post-graduate classes at the Pusa Agricultural Research Institute. The Agricultural College at Sabour, in Bihar and

> to the greatest respect in India. . . . The surest and quickest way of improving the economic and material condition of the people and securing an advance toward a higher standard of living lies through agriculture.*

If only 1 per cent of the Hindus were as enlightened as Mr. Gupta, India would soon lose her afflictions. We can judge his keen insight when he states further:

> Undoubtedly, the root cause of the poverty of India is the want of a natural adjustment between the agricultural and industrial occupations, and the almost entire dependence of the vast majority of the people on a comparatively inefficient and primitive form of agriculture. . . . Agricultural Bengal supports on an average 578 to every square mile of the total area, which is greater than the population supported in countries where both agriculture and industries are well developed, *e.g.*, Great Britain with an average of 450 to the square mile, Germany which has an average of 311, and France where the average is 189 only.†

Christian missionaries of various nationalities and denominations have rendered notable service in furthering the enlightenment and promoting the welfare of the people in general and the "depressed" classes in particular. As a result of mission schooling the Christian Indians, who are principally "Untouchables" or low-castes, stand high in the ratio of literacy, holding rank in English literacy second to none save the Parsees, whose advantages are enormously superior.‡ More than half the native Christian community live within the Madras Presidency and the adjoining States of Cochin and Travancore. At the last census thirty-two persons in every thousand

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Orissa, was closed in 1923 owing to there being little demand for higher education in that province. On page 1247 it is stated that there were also three Agricultural schools in 1916 with 71 pupils; 11 schools in 1921 with 291 pupils, and 17 schools in 1926 with 517 pupils. The 17 schools in 1926 included 10 under Government management and one school for girls under Mission management in Bihar and Orissa. These figures are calamitous when it is considered that they apply to a country of over 320,000,000 people, 71 per cent of whom are engaged in agriculture.

*"Foundations of National Progress," pages 94-5.

†*Ibid.*, pages 176–177.

‡The Parsees, former inhabitants of Persia and followers of Zoroaster, are settled mainly in Bombay and Surat where they form a wealthy and influential group, many being bankers and industrialists of note.

of the population of the Madras Presidency were Christians,* in Cochin the proportion was 268 per thousand and in Travancore 292 per thousand.

Striking significance of the benefit of Christian instruction is demonstrated when we study a table showing the ratio of literates for the three Native States which possess the highest literacy, with statistics for all India including the States, and for purposes of a balanced judgement some further figures are drawn from other native territories.

	Literates per 100 males of 5 and over	Literates per 100 females of 5 and over
Travancore State[1]	38.0	17.3
Cochin State[2]	31.7	11.5
Baroda State[3]	24.0	4.7
British India	14.4	2.0
All India	13.9	2.1
Hyderabad State	5.7	0.8
Rajputana Agency	6.8	0.5
Kashmir State	4.6	0.3

[1] Travancore, in southern India, in political relation with Madras, is only 7,091 miles in area with a compact population (16th native State in area but 3d in population). Although this State is overwhelmingly non-Aryan, the dominant classes are the Brahmans (Aryan émigrés), Christians and Nairs. As we know, the Brahmans inherit the right and training of Hindu education, the Christians are mission educated, while the Nairs recognize the equal rights of women, the line of succession of the native rulers following descent through the female parent. All of these conditions promote the growth of literacy which has been further stimulated by generations of rulers who have been notable for character and erudition as well as conspicuous for beneficial and prosperous administrations.

[2] Cochin, with an area of 1,361 square miles, is a non-Aryan feudatory State of southern India, in political subordination to Madras. This State has been in contact with European civilizations from the earliest times of Portuguese trading.

[3] Baroda, a coastal State 8,135 square miles in area, cuts into Bombay Presidency on the west coast of India. It also had enjoyed Western contact and Western commerce since the arrival of the Portuguese in Eastern waters and the transfer of the port of Surat to the English. The Gaekwar's tireless activity and progressive ideas have brought worldwide publicity to this State where compulsory education has been operative for the past twenty years, although there has been an insufficient number of schools.

The eye-witnessing spectacles of the resulting stamina and courage in the Christian "Untouchables" who for the first time have walked as men and not slunk as lepers, have proved an impelling inspiration to fellow members of the "depressed" classes. Further stimulated by legal protection of Government and material assistance of missions, the "Untouchables" increased their enrollment in schools in the five years between 1924 and 1929 from 337,000 to 802,000 pupils. In Madras, where the caste system is most rigid, there are over 10,000 special schools for "depressed" students, only 16,000 out of 228,000 "Untouchables" attending ordinary schools,* and there are 8,000-odd Christian mission schools and 20 mission colleges.

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*There are 1,361,000 converts in the Presidency which has an area of 142,260 square miles.

The uplifting of mental qualifications and the training in agricultural pursuits of the most pitifully persecuted peoples in the world are answering an economic as well as a social problem, since material progress is vitally important to them for stationary subsistence, much more for advanced standing in society.

To continue the upward ratio of national literacy, money must be spent both in the training of teachers and the erection of schools. Suitable and efficient teachers are the consummate need of elementary instruction. These must come from among the peoples themselves. Schools for vocational training are the most urgent need above the primary grades, and who must pay for these but the people themselves? Taxation is decried as already too heavy, although the average Central and Provincial total tax per capita of India amounts to only one-fifteenth of the average Federal and State tax per capita of the United States. "The taxation percentage works out at about 7 per cent in India. In Britain the proportion is about 20 per cent. It is perhaps more significant that the ratio in Japan, which is another oriental country with a population whose standard of living is low, is also about 20 per cent."† The causes of low literacy primarily revert to native valuations and native conditions. It is to be noticed that an Indian is Minister of the Department of Education in the Council of the Viceroy.

"Why don't the English establish compulsory education?" is inquired on many sides. Between 1918 and 1920 such laws were enacted for primary grades in seven major provinces. Although operative, comparatively few students have taken advantage of these statutes. "Why don't the British enforce the laws?" some people ask. How can they? It would require a gigantic army to drive millions of children of millions of parents into schools and then stand guard to keep them there. Who would supply the police or soldiers? Who would pay the expense? What would be the penalties for resistance? Attempted duress would necessitate coercion in spite of Hindu religion and would be contrary to English promise when Great Britain took over the government of India and English policy in keeping that promise.

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*Auxiliary Committee Review, 1929.

†Indian Statutory Commission Report, vol. II, page 208.

While in the Presidency of Bombay, where Western contact has stung the ambitions and the pride of Indians, there is an insistent demand for enforced schooling, in the rest of the vast areas compulsion would not be a practical or a peaceful procedure. For instance, Gandhi's Non-Co-operative Organization has impelled a movement of boycott against Government schools which is entirely political in motive. Let us read a letter from an assistant principal in a National (Non-Co-operative) institution addressed in March, 1925, to Gandhi himself. The following extracts epitomize the entire communication:

> In order to save the young generation from the slave mentality created in the Government schools, the National Educational movement was started. . . . The weakest link lay in the fact that it had its source in the main political current of the day. When the latter reached its lowest ebb, the former was bound to get dry. The N.C.O. movement gave a second impetus. The boys were to be made Swaraj Soldiers . . . *i.e.*, workers to carry out the different items of N.C.O. Here again the educational movement had no existence separate from a political one.
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> The aim of education is to develop the physical and mental organs of children so as to make them worthy citizens of their country. This can only be done where boys are in the secondary schools. Before that they are too young and after that their character will have taken already a particular bent difficult to be turned to any other desirable direction. Now according to your opinion, the age in secondary schools is to be devoted mainly to hand-spinning, hand-weaving and every-

> thing connected with it. Is not that education unnatural and oppressive when students of varied capabilities and difficult aptitudes are cramped together in one and the same mould? Do you think that the boys who have received such kind of education will have received all the necessary fruits of education? Will they be well equipped to bring out a national regeneration in all possible spheres?
>
> You often say that an actual non-violent war is being waged against the British Government and that you want worthy and well-equipped soldiers to fight it out. Do you suppose that you can get a continuous supply of such soldiers from schools where nothing but spinning and weaving is taught?
>
> During the last forty years or more, a number of experiments were tried in the field of national education. Can you point out at least one institution, the model of which we can proudly ask the government to imitate?
>
> The whole world is advancing in material civilization, without which we shall certainly be handicapped. It is now a settled fact that India fell a prey to Western nations because she was wanting in scientific and material progress. History has taught this lesson and it cannot be overlooked. But you never seem to give much importance to subjects like Physics and Chemistry. Is it not strange?*

How does Mohandas Gandhi, who enjoyed the benefit of three years of training in one of the most distinguished schools of law in England, member of the Inner Temple, oldest of the Inns of Court in London, and who was duly declared a barrister in 1891, feel about the curriculum of National schools? We learn from his letter of October 15, 1925.†

> The pupils' work would be [if his teachings were accepted] regularly tested from day to day just as all their exercises would be or should be. And this is impossible unless all the teachers will learn the art with its technique. It is a waste of money to have a spinning expert. Every teacher has to become one, if spinning is to be effectively taught, and if the teacher believes in the necessity of spinning he can learn it without any difficulty in a month's time if he will give two hours to it daily.

In the same letter he states:

> During my travels those who are interested in national education tell me that whereas I constantly harp upon Khaddar untouchability

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***Young India*, 1924–1926, pages 268–269.

†*Ibid.*

and Hindu Muslim unity, nowadays one rarely finds mention even of national education, in *Young India*. As a matter of fact the statement is true, but it must not be cited as a ground of complaint against me, if only because I am directly interested in the largest national university in India. But national education is not a thing which can be advanced by any writing on my part. Its advance depends totally upon a proper working of the institutions now in existence. We cannot, we must not, any longer appeal to the youth of this country who are now receiving education in the government institutions to leave them for they now know the pros and cons of the subject. They are in government institutions either out of weakness or out of fondness for them or their want of faith in national institutions; whatever the reason the only way to deal with their weakness, fondness or want of faith is to make the national institutions strong and popular by sheer force of the character and ability of the teachers.

He proceeds to speak of a National school in Calcutta where hand-spinning is compulsory, which meets, of course, with his approval.

In the December 12, 1925, article he states:

A student who is carrying on post graduate studies in America writes: "I am one of those who are extremely interested in the utilization of Indian resources as one of the means for remedying the poverty of India. This is my sixth year in this country. My special field is wood-chemistry. I would have entered executive service or taken up medical studies if I were not so profoundly convinced of the importance of the Industrial development of India. . . . Would you approve of my going into industrial enterprise, say pulp and paper manufacture? What is your attitude in general on the question of adopting a sane, humanitarian industrial policy for India? Do you stand for the progress of science? I mean such progress which brings blessings to mankind, *e.g.*, the work of Pasteur of France and that of Dr. Benting of Toronto?"

And what does Gandhi reply?

I should have no objection whatsoever to industrial enterprise such as the student has in view. Only I would not call it necessarily humanitarian. A humanitarian industrial policy for India means to me a glorified revival of hand-spinning, for through it alone can pauper-

> ism, which is blighting the lives of millions of human beings in their own cottages in this land, be immediately removed. Everything else may thereafter be added so as to increase the productive capacity of this country. I would therefore have all young men with a scientific training to utilize their skill in making the spinning wheel, if it is possible, a more efficient instrument of production in India's cottages.

Thus the "Saint" of India stagnates the ambitions and "non-humanitarian" desires of the trained number of the disease-ridden, educationally starved Indians.

Although the people hearkened to Mr. Gandhi's advice in 1921, 1922 and 1923 and boycotted the Government schools in great numbers, they were not satisfied with the curriculum he advocated. In 1924, when he was combatting compulsory operations of the governmental laws and loudly declaiming "Our ancient school system is enough, we consider your [government] schools to be useless,"* they were returning to Government institutions. Since that year attendance has steadily increased over any previous record.

However deplorable is the ratio of only 14 per cent literacy of the men and 2 per cent of the women, there has been a steady growth of interest and a steady gain in results. In 1881 the proportion in the case of males was only 8 per cent and in 1911 it had increased to 12 per cent.

The British have supplied the statutes and assisted in the assumption of the inalienable right of all Indian people to knowledge. There is, unfortunately, a wide distance between the right to public education and the willingness to accept or the desire to attain it. The Indian peoples must cross that distance alone, for many of them to-day deny themselves this right. They have but to heed the beckoning call of a few pioneers of magnificent fortitude who have torn off their shackles and travelled the road to knowledge.

"Truth will not make us rich, but it will make us free," wrote Mr. Will Durant in his "Story of Philosophy." Truth, which is knowledge, will make India both rich and free.

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*"Indian Home Rule," by Mr. Gandhi; page 113.

Viaducts to Commonalty

Nationalism depends upon not only interpretable and transmittable currents of language but the intermovement and intermingling of currents of peoples within their common territory. The railways, postal telegraph and telephone services, which have been financed and constructed by the British, are other carriers of communication which are proving to be vital factors in the development of common interests and common understandings. They are contributors to the unification of India and to the growth of national consciousness. They are the viaducts between egoism and nationalism.

Forty-four thousand miles of Government railways to-day criss-cross India in every direction, the trains on every route having a daily running schedule, save one bi-weekly line running into the oil fields of Baluchistan. In mechanical equipments as well as comfort for passengers, there are no finer railways in the world, yet first-class fare is three and one-half American cents per mile, including compartment accommodations which are comparable to our own drawing-rooms, with their private sanitary arrangements and shower baths. Third-class fare is only one-half cent (American money) per mile.

In the year ending March 31, 1929, 620,000,000 passengers travelled on Indian State railways, the travellers being divided as follows: first class, 1,000,000; second class, 18,000,000; third class, 591,000,000. They carried 85,000,000 tons of goods in the same financial year.*

Transportation is a vital problem in this country so afflicted by the monsoon that one sector receives 450 inches of rainfall each year and another only three inches, and where 71 per cent of the people are entirely dependent on agriculture for existence. The Commission that reported on the disastrous famine of 1878 urged the rapid extension of railways and for

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*I can not comprehend nor account for the article by Mr. Upton Close in July, 1930, issue of *World's Work*, entitled "What Next for India?" wherein he declares on page 35: "The trains [Indian] are antiquated and comfortless, yet having the highest tariffs in the world." He accuses the English of building the railways "To satisfy military strategy and serve English importers and exporters more than with the self contained economic needs of India in mind." In view of these official figures it is not difficult to the thirty years before the World War an average of 807 miles of new lines were opened yearly. The War checked progress but during recent years the programme of extension has compensated for that check. For instance, 1,282 miles of line were built in the financial year 1928–1929. As irrigation channels have been constructed, the rails have followed. They have carried life-sustaining food and fodder from areas of plenty to those of drought or flood; they have been cardinal contributors to the reprieval of the peoples from the ravages of famine that have scourged the inhabitants of India from the beginning of history until the last three decades. There has been no widespread famine in India for thirty years.

The railways have induced equalization of prices, the opening of markets and the development of trade. In a country of vast distances, severe changes of climate and peasant population, such commercial benefits are economic emancipators. They are a momentous factor in Indian industrial life, for they employ and train 800,000 natives in their direct services.* The character of work has proved to be an educative force of no small proportions, skilled labor being taught and used, in the workshop, on the footplate, in the signal-box and in the telegraph room. Few railways in the world can display so advanced a stage in the education of a skilled staff as that found in the newly opened Railway Staff College at Dehra Dun. Here junior and senior officers attend courses of instruction in transport work and commercial services while probationary officers receive theoretical training alternatively with practical work on the lines.

Affiliated industries are also stimulated by railway needs and hundreds of thousands of men and some women are employed in the Tata steel works, in hewing teak in the Central Provinces, Tavoy wood in Burma or Pyinma in the Andaman Islands and in supplying other materials for the rolling stock of the lines.

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perceive that the public carriers are used primarily by the Indian laborers who transfer from place to place, where wages are highest and work is most plentiful.

*Only 5,000 British are employed by the railways, although 80 per cent of the bonds are British owned.

The railways have permitted an agglomeration of the diverse units of the vast territories and brought within the scope of Indian vision distant native peoples and parts of their land which were as foreign to them as countries beyond the Atlantic. They have enabled devout worshippers to undertake religious pilgrimages in as many days as it once took months. They have helped to bridge those formidable gulfs between classes of castes which cleave the country.* They have stimulated the crystallization of a conscious conviction of common interests, an essential integrant of nationalism in even a compact, homogeneous country, much more in a land so bitterly polygenous and bewilderingly polyglot as India.

Yet what does that great advocate of the freeing of India from famine and the developing of national spirit and national government, Mr. Gandhi, have to say about this unifying service? He calls it an evil and dangerous institution! "Good travels at a snail's pace—it can, therefore, have little to do with railways. Evil has wings," says Mr. Gandhi, "so the railway can become a distributing agency for the evil one only. It may be a debatable matter whether railways spread famines, but it is beyond dispute that they propagate evil. . . . Railways are a most dangerous institution."† Mr. Gandhi travels continually by these "evil" instruments of transit and one has but to read his own books to find that the stories of his insistence on democratic third-class accommodations are often fallacies.

And what does Mr. Lajpat Rai have to say about the railways?‡

> The Indian publicists are almost unanimous that the railways in India, built and constructed with foreign capital and managed by foreign agents, have been economically ruinous to India, and the British publicists are divided into two classes; those who condemn the railway policy of the Government of India, and those who point out in figures of traffic and the growth of foreign trade conclusive facts

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*Even the most rigid casteman cannot but recognize a certain gradual modifying of religious differences in the intimacies of crowded railway compartments or in the congregated workshop.

†"Indian Home Rule," pages 45–48.

‡"England's Debt to India," by Lajpat Rai, page 283.

> showing the success of railways there. But before we state the case for both sides we want to say once for all that although there is no doubt in our judgment that the railway policy of the Government of India has been the source of indescribable misery to the people of India, economically and financially the railways have largely contributed to the unifying of India, and to the growth of national consciousness; they have broken down social barriers; they have facilitated travel and thereby helped social reform and the broadening of the Indian people's outlook. Unfortunately the price we have paid for these benefits has been too heavy for a poor people like those of India.
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> In discussing the blessings conferred on India by the railway system the Anglo-Indian imperialist is apt to point out: (*a*) the huge growth of the foreign trade of the county; (*b*) the number to whom the railways give employment; (*c*) the help which, in years of scarcity, the railways afford in carrying the surplus product of one province to another.
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> Whether (*a*) is a blessing or not depends on who profits by the foreign trade. We have already shown that the foreign trade is in the hands of the Europeans, and while they purchase Indian produce on their own terms, they convert it into manufactures and resell the same to India, also on their own terms, pocketing all the profits which accrue from manufacture, carriage, insurance, brokerage, etc. As to (*b*), the number of natives employed by the Indian railways cannot be by any means larger than what were employed in the transportation business on land and waterways before the railways. The railways have practically replaced both. As to (*c*), in this respect the railways have been more of a curse than a blessing. They have helped in the export of grain more than the needs of the Indian population warrant.

Since these conclusions typify the logic of many Indians with trained intellects, let us take up the three points Mr. Lajpat Rai enumerates. When the Suez Canal opened in 1869 the total annual exports of India approximated $400,000,000. In the three years ending 1926–1927 the average value annually exceeded $1,312,500,000. By far the greater part of this volume is contributed by agricultural products, the chief items being cotton, jute, oilseed, wheat and tea.

Mr. Lajpat Rai is not correct in his conclusions from these figures. Neither the output nor the profits are controlled by the English. The largest buyers of Indian cotton are the Japanese, who purchase six times as much Indian cotton as do the

English. Japanese labor is cheaper than Indian and their up-to-date methods of manufacture so far surpass those of the Indians' hand-spinning wheel that the Indians are able to buy Japanese cloth cheaper than their own in spite of 11 per cent ad valorem duty.*

While it was British capital that began the modern process of industrialism in India, commercial enterprise is more and more falling into native hands. For instance, the vast majority of the cotton factories of Bombay are Indian controlled, while most of the share capital in the jute mills on the Hooghly† is also Indian owned.

The fact that India has a large export trade is due to surplus production which has followed the establishment of peace within her borders for the past seventy-two years, the first tranquil period of her history; the erection and installation of vast irrigation projects by Government; the facilities of transport by roads and rail for the sale of produce at a distance; and the encouragement and instruction of advanced methods of agriculture. We shall take up the main items of export under "Economic Tributaries."

Huge tracts of sterile land have been converted into granaries as a result of the irrigation programme. Twenty-eight million acres in British India alone are now watered by works constructed by Government, and immense projects are still in process of construction. The Sukkur barrage in the Sind Province will be the largest work of its kind in the world and will bring 3,750,000 acres of waste land under cultivation. In the Deccan the Bhandardara dam, 270 feet in height, has recently been completed. It has converted great tracts of desert into prosperous gardens and sugar-cane, while in the same neighborhood the Lloyd dam, which is the largest mass of masonry in the world, will hold up a perennial supply of water which will feed a total cultivatable area of 675,000 acres. In short, a total area of 40,000,000 acres is now, or will be shortly, irrigated by Government works. Sixty-seven thousand miles of Government canals supply the water for crops whose estimated value is $525,000,000 a year. These enormous projects are root factors in enabling India to become a self-sufficient and exporting nation. The fact that there have been no famines in India for thirty years is conclusive evidence in refutation of Mr. Lajpat Rai's charges.

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*Figures of the trade imports and exports of all kinds are to be found in the annual official Review of the "Trade of India."

†In Bengal, principally near or at Calcutta.

As for (*b*) Mr. Lajpat Rai may be correct in the number of Indians employed in transportation before the railways were laid, but what were the distances of conveyance? Caste restrictions and difficulties of travel denied movement except in immediate areas. At the beginning of 1930 there were 60,000 miles of metalled and surfaced roads in British India and more than twice that length of various kinds of "kacha," or unmetalled roads, which vary from good motor roads in fine weather to miry or rutted tracks in the rainy season. Previous to British administration only four great military highways, or trunk roads, existed.

Stupendous difficulties face the building of highways in a vast land with towering mountains, fever jungles, scorching deserts and shifting watercourses that change during the season from raging torrents to see-sawing sand beds. Demands of trade have furthered facilities for motor transport as well as railway conveyance, and during the year 1926–1927 over $30,000,000 was spent on Indian roads by the authority of the Provincial Legislatures. This expenditure was a distinct and encouraging advance in recognition of national needs, but, in the realms of commerce, exchange, quantity production and modern economics are unfortunately still "Greek" to many of even the most erudite Indians. The answer to (*c*) has already been taken up under the reply to (*a*).

Although great wealth is possessed by Indian capitalists, they have shown little interest in financing projects which would benefit the millions of poverty-stricken natives. Consequently, India borrowed practically all the money that built her railways, in England, where bonds were issued through the agency of English joint stock companies under contract with the State.

> The Secretary of State guaranteed a return of 5 per cent on the capital outlay, but the surplus profits were shared with the State, which exercised a strict control over the expenditure and management of the railways. For many years, however, the railways were not remunerative, and imposed a considerable burden on Indian revenues. All the old "guaranteed" companies have since been purchased by the State, and the railway system of India is now almost entirely owned by the State, though the management in some cases continues to be through companies under a definite contract. . . . There is a definite annual contribution from the railways to the general revenues of the country of 1 per cent of the capital outlay, and this is a first charge on the net receipts of the railways. In addition to the charge a proportion, generally one-fifth, of the net surplus profits is credited to general revenues, and the remainder transferred to a railway reserve fund.*

India possesses neither the natural nor the industrial facilities for railway equipment, but importation from Europe has been only one factor in comparatively expensive construction. Stupendous problems that are unknown in any other country met the engineers on every hand. I have mentioned briefly the accomplishments in constructing the Khyber Pass railway, but, while political problems were not so complicated in other areas, features of geography have been even more tremendous in many other districts. For instance, in crossing the Bhor Ghat, the line had to be laid over a height of 2,027 feet above sea level and an actual climb of 1,831 feet in 13½ miles. The hills are precipitous, covered with thick jungle, lacking water and means of approach, and composed of hard trap rock. Numerous viaducts and tunnels were necessary, although not in the same proportion as in the case of the Khyber railway, where over 10 per cent of the whole line consists of tunnels, and over 50 per cent is on a curve. Bridgings of great rivers and deep valleys were other challengers to man. The Hardinge Bridge on the East Bengal railway includes fifteen spans of 345 feet each, and the sixteen main piers are carried on wells believed to be the deepest foundations of their kind in the world, sunk by open dredging to a depth of 150 to 160 feet below lowest water-level. Here are a few cases of innumerable Herculean tasks which forbade cheap construction. That the costs were necessarily great is unquestioned, and that the benefits, both financial and social, have far outstripped the costs can but be conceded on thorough consideration.

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*Neither the Minister of the Central Government nor the Governor of any Province can overrule Legislative Council's authorization or refusal of money for road construction and maintenance.

Since 1888–1889 the railways have been a source of revenue to the Government of India. In 1924–1925 the net profits to the Government after payment of interest, sinking funds, annuity charges, *et cetera,* were $58,736,000,* while in 1927–1928 the railways "contributed $23,750,000 to general revenue and nearly $20,000,000 in 1928–1929 after paying $16,500,000 and $8,250,000 respectively during these two years into the railway reserve fund."† Reduction in revenue has been caused by expansion of construction. In 1929–1930 railways contributed $23,437,500 to Government revenue.‡

The Posts and Telegraph Department is not remunerative to the Government from a financial aspect, a slight loss having occurred in the last three years.§ When the British arrived in India no established system of communication existed and even in the eighteenth century it was no small difficulty to send a letter 100 miles. In 1854 postage stamps were introduced which fixed a low cost of mail, irrespective of distance, for the whole country. The problems which had to be faced in the development of the Indian postal system were greatly complicated by the diversity of races, the large number of scripts in which the various vernaculars are written, the illiteracy of the vast majority of the people and the difficulties of communication, yet the efficiency of the present postal service is outstanding. While there is a highly organized railway mail service and motor transport for mails which is steadily increasing, owing to the nature of the country there still remain many places which can be served only by foot runners. In 1928 there were over 90,000 miles of runners' lines in which 15,000 men were employed to carry mails. The number of Post Offices in India in 1924–1925 was 19,652, and the length of railways and roads over which mails were conveyed was 156,117 miles.

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*"Statesman's Year Book," 1926, page 139.

†T. Guthrie Russell, Chief Commissioner of Railways in the *Times* India number, February 18, 1930.

‡Indian Statutory Commission Report, vol. 1, page 358.

§*Ibid.*, page 361.

The telegraph service was at first confined to departmental telegraph offices, but in 1883 lines were extended to rural areas and at present there are 10,000 telegraph offices open for paid traffic, linked by 99,978 miles of line, and about 452,000 miles of wire. Rates for telegrams and mail are almost identical with American charges and the service between large cities is quite comparable to our own.

In 1929 there were 280 telephone exchanges with a total of approximately 18,000 connections. The telephone revenue is about 3,500,000 rupees ($1,260,000) against an expenditure of nearly 5,000,000 ($1,800,000). According to the census of 1921, 4,331,054 were employed in Transport departments (including postal, telegraph and telephone service).

Economic Tributaries

India is to-day one of the eight most important industrial areas in the world. In the year 1927–1928 the exports from India exceeded the imports by approximately $255,000,000. India has always enjoyed a balance of trade in her favor as against Europe, and from earliest times, by sea and overland by caravan, she has furnished spices and peppers, silks and finely woven cotton goods to the outside world, and as long ago as the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century the drain of bullion from England to India was a source of much uneasiness in Europe. But the fact that since 1860 the annual value of her imports and exports combined has increased sevenfold is due to increased development of natural resources and governmental assistance rather than to national forethought.

IMPORTS

Even since the invention of modern appliances and machines for wholesale production, India has been a creditor nation in the importation of cotton cloth, 28.77 per cent of her entire imports consisting of manufactured piece goods. In the nineteenth century, industrialized England flooded the Indian market with materials with which the native hand looms could not compete. But England in the twentieth century, while still holding the lead of supply, has strenuous competition with Japan, France, Italy, Germany and other European sellers of cotton and artificial silk cloth. Japan, which in 1913–1914 furnished only 5 per cent of what is known as gray goods, in 1927–1928 supplied 24.5 per cent of the cloth imports. It is only in very recent years that native mills in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Nagpur and other localities have even attempted to recapture their own home market.

If Mr. Gandhi were to foster modern equipment for weaving in the homes and the villages, India, with her enormous population, could not only easily and quickly secure the entire profits of 28.77 per cent of her imports but could no doubt increase her exports. But this is neither the spirit nor the object of his endeavor.

As conditions now exist, due to the poor quality of the raw cotton (largely because of failure to fertilize or use good seed), and the crude quality of manufactured cotton (due to primæval methods of weaving), Indian wares are not suitable for Western markets. The Indian cotton exported to Great Britain is used chiefly in making lamp wicks and other low-grade fabrics, while the cotton for the bulk of English manufacture is purchased from the United States and the Sudan. Indian piece goods find a market only in the Straits Settlements, Ceylon, Iraq, Persia and East Africa.

Next to cotton, the largest item in the list of imports is metals and manufactures of iron and steel. While local foundries are protected by an import tariff, they can supply only a fraction of India's requirements. In 1927–1928 the railways alone imported plant and rolling stock amounting to nearly $35,000,000, the suppliers being divided as follows: Great Britain 66.8 per cent, Belgium 23.9 per cent, Germany 3.9 per cent, Australia 1.9 per cent, and the United States 1.2 per cent. In the field of motor vehicles, the United States more than doubled Great Britain's exports to India during the financial year ending March, 1929; India importing 7,943 cars from the United States, 6,568 from Canada, 3,645 from the United Kingdom, and 967 from Italy. In December, 1928, General Motors opened the first Indian motor car assembly plant and within twelve months of that date more than 12,000 cars and trucks had been distributed throughout India and Ceylon.

GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO INDUSTRIALISM

While the rest of Indian imports are principally manufactured articles, almost the whole of her exports are agricultural produce. The Government of India, particularly in recent years, has accomplished great strides in increasing the areas of production by irrigation and scientific methods of fertilization,* alternation of crops, provision of better seed and purer stock, the mobility of labor and the development of co-operative credit. Agricultural production has been greatly assisted by the exemption of tax on agricultural incomes since the Act of 1886, which has continued in force ever since.

In the last two decades the Government has taken even further steps to free India from dependence for her prosperity on the despotic monsoon which, down the ages, has been a veritable czar in dictating adversity or affluence for the entire country, and by superimposing facilities of manufacture on the ancient fabric of an elaborately subdivided and predominantly rural society. Looking back through the mists of two thousand years or more, one discerns that India was then, as now, a land of innumerable villages. Since nine-tenths of the people to-day live in over a half-million small settlements, it would not be practical or possible to induce them to migrate to manufacturing centres, so Government has attempted to take manufacture to them. The wisdom of assistance was long recognized, but the method was ground for serious debate.

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*The soil has been drained for centuries by the burning of cow-dung for fuel or use in the temples, since even cow-refuse is sacred, and the handling of any other dead animal substance is strictly forbidden by Hinduism.

British Government has long held that the greatest service the State could render industry was to establish and preserve security for enterprise, but, having insured a fair field for competition between man and man or between nation and nation, that it was pernicious to regulate, unfair to assist and wrong to expend public money to participate in commercial developments. To Indians these doctrines of democratic *laissez faire* were not comprehensible. Indian industry had always centred around the thrones of the rulers and had always looked to the sovereigns for regulation of activities in answer to supply and demand. Individualistic endeavor or rights were neither understood nor appreciated. With the opening of the twentieth century, Western contact and Western prosperity stimulated the desire of groups of Indians to profit likewise in trade and accordingly they claimed and urged the duty of Government to secure expansion of industry.

But these groups were not wide-spread, many natives holding that it was undesirable that India should develop industrially on both economic and social grounds, claiming that from an economic standpoint the diversion of capital from agriculture to industry would be unprofitable, and that from a social standpoint the changes of caste society which would follow in the train of industrialism would be pernicious. Mr. Gandhi headed a group that attacked all machinery and all machine-made goods as evil instruments, but others of educated opinion were convinced that industrial progress was essential for the prosperity and development of India as a participant in world affairs. It was not until after the World War and contact with the West that many Indians agreed with the findings of the Indian Famine Commission of 1880, which concluded that: "at the root of much of the poverty of the people of India, and of the risks to which they are exposed in sea-sons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population." Enthusiasm for industrial advance was for the first time recognized and accepted as a promise of progress in scientific, social and political directions as well as financial fields, and the Indian Industrial Conference which began in 1905 gave a forum to the leaders of this movement.

Previous to this conference, Government had not universally furthered the increase of industrialism, since only local groups of natives had been inspired to accept Western ideas of commerce while the bulk of the peoples looked on Western efforts with the same bitter resentment as they had regarded the installation of railways and telegraphy directly before the Sepoy mutiny of 1857. Nevertheless, individual administrators and several provincial administrations expended much thought and energy in fostering new enterprises. To quote a notable instance, Mr. (later Sir) Alfred Chatterton successfully developed the aluminum hollow-ware industry in the Madras Presidency between 1898 and 1903, and the Secretary of State for India sanctioned Mr. Chatterton's proposals to secure organized development by official agency of technical trades and industries. Chrome tanning was subsequently introduced into the Presidency and became a vigorous industry at a net cost to local government of only one-half lakh of rupees ($18,000).

The conference advocated the creation of a new department which would be in charge of official efforts to further commercial advance. Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, was frankly sceptical of beneficial results, but nevertheless he sanctioned the founding of a separate Department of Commerce and Industry in the Government of India.

In December, 1908, the Indian Industrial Conference at Madras expressed the opinion: "that there should be in every province of British India a Department of Industries under a Director of Industries to deal with industrial questions and to be in charge of technical as well as industrial education," and a conference at Dacca under auspices of the Provinces of Eastern Bengal and Assam framed proposals on somewhat similar lines. Confident of Central support, the Provincial Madras Government appointed a Director of Industries in 1908 "to control pioneer enterprises and industrial education, and to establish an industrial intelligence bureau and an industrial museum." In the United Provinces similar steps were undertaken; a successful exhibition was organized at Allahabad, several crafts were subsidized, an experimental cotton-seed oil factory was established at Cawnpore, and a substantial loan was subscribed for starting a sugar factory. A number of other advances were granted for industrial purposes, since the lack of capital had been a constant handicap to new projects and developments.

While this policy was advocated by an important, although a minor section of native public opinion, Lord Morley, who had in 1906 expressed doubts as to the propriety of governmental assistance to industry, refused in 1910 to sanction a Department of Industries in the Provinces, a step which had been taken in anticipation and confidence of his approval. In a public dispatch he acknowledged the success but discountenanced the right of State efforts in this direction

> unless it is strictly limited to industrial instruction and avoids the semblance of commercial venture. So limited, interference with private enterprise is avoided, while there still remains an ample and well defined sphere of activity. The limit disregarded, there is the danger that the new State industry will either remain a petty and ineffective plaything or will become a costly and hazardous speculation. I sympathize with the conference and the Madras Government in their anxiety for the industrial development of the Province, but I think that it is more likely to be retarded than promoted by the diversion to State-managed commercial enterprises of funds which are urgently required for the extension of industrial and technical instruction.
>
> The policy which I am prepared to sanction is that State funds may be expended upon familiarizing the people with such improvements in the methods of production as modern sciences and the practice of European countries can suggest; further than this the State should not go and it must be left to private enterprise to demonstrate that these improvements can be adopted with commercial advantage.

As we have seen, the proletariat were indifferent or antagonistic as a whole to technical schooling and Indian capitalists were mainly disinterested in subsidizing private enterprise. A tanning factory, which had been assisted by Provincial authority, had already been transferred to private ownership, but many other projects which were in process of development were abandoned and a weaving factory was closed after the issue of Lord Morley's instructions.

While earnest endeavor was turned, in full force, toward the establishing of technical schools and colleges and the encouraging of study in the institutions by such steps as scholarships for further training in Europe and America, industrialism was almost entirely dependent upon European private capital and European private effort for several years.

In 1916 an Indian Industrial Commission was appointed, with the approval of the Secretary of State, and instructed:

> to examine and report upon the possibilities of further industrial development in India and to submit its recommendations with special reference to the following questions: (*a*) whether new openings for the profitable employment of Indian capital in commerce and industry can be indicated; (*b*) whether and, if so, in what manner, Government can usefully give direct encouragement to industrial development —(*i*) by rendering technical advice more freely available; (*ii*) by the demonstration of the practical possibility on the commercial scale of particular industries; (*iii*) by affording directly or indirectly financial assistance to industrial enterprises; or (*iv*) by any other means which are not incompatible with the existing fiscal policy of the Government of India.

A summary of the resulting recommendations would occupy many pages, but the fundamental principles were:

> First, that in future Government should play an active part in the industrial development of the country; secondly, that Government cannot undertake this work unless provided with adequate administrative equipment and forearmed with reliable scientific and technical advice.*
>
> The main activities of Government in respect of industries were to

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*Dispatch from the Secretary of State to the Governor-General in Council, No. 86, Revenue of 25th September, 1919.

include: (1) research, (2) industrial and technical education, (3) commercial and industrial intelligence, (4) direct assistance, technical and financial, and (5) the purchase of stores. That Government was not equipped for the task indicated was obvious and the problem, as it presented itself to the Commission, was largely one of organization. The machinery which they proposed to set up included central and provincial departments and industries, manned largely by All-India scientific and technical services. A brief indication of the functions of the main units of the organization will illustrate the methods which the Commission advocated.

The provincial Departments of Industries to be set up in ten provinces already existed, in most cases, in embryo; but they were to be entrusted with much wider functions and supplied with much larger staffs. At the head of each Department was to be a Director of Industries who would also act as Secretary to Government and as adviser to Government in matters relating to trade and commerce. He was to be assisted by a Board, to be composed mainly of non-officials. The staff of the Department was to include industrial engineers, chemists, various specialists in industry and teachers. This staff would be engaged in various scientific researches connected with industries to be carried on at well-equipped institutes and laboratories, and it would be responsible for conducting and supervising technical and industrial education and would participate in technological education. The Commission's proposals involved a large increase in and the reorganizations of industrial education. The provincial departments were also to be responsible for the collection of information, statistical and general, regarding industries with a view to its supply to Government and the public. The Departments were thus to be equipped to provide industrialists and entrepreneurs with technical advice and economic and scientific data. In addition the provincial departments would be mainly responsible for the more direct forms of assistance to industry advocated by the Commission. In the case of the cottage industries, assistance could be given in many ways—by demonstration factories and peripatetic demonstrations, by the introduction of better tools and plants, by instructional classes, by loans, by the improvement of designs and of marketing. To further the smaller organized industries, the establishment of pioneer factories was advocated; the duty of the department in this case was to carry on the work on a small commercial scale, in order to ascertain the initial difficulties and to discover whether the industry could be made to yield a profit.*

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*Memoranda submitted by the Government of India and the India office and the Indian Statutory Commission, vol. V, Part II, page 1376, etc. To any one interested in or dubious of the sincerity of Government endeavors to further the industrial prosperity of India, the "Memoranda" in full is particularly enlightening.

The result of the Commission's recommendation and the subsequent endorsement by the Government of India was a decided impetus to Indian enterprise. To demonstrate by one example, the Army Clothing Department turned out in one month forty-five times its average pre-war monthly production of garments in India.*

Government schools which give specialized training in dyeing, calico printing, hand loom and mechanically assisted weaving, as well as leather working, have furthered the increase of home production in spite of boycott by Mr. Gandhi and his followers. Apart from weaving schools there is public instruction in carpentry, blacksmithy work and similar fields. All types of "Cottage Industries" have been fostered and furthered. Nevertheless,

> In Madras, opposition was offered by village moneylenders who, fearing the attainment of independence by the weavers, fixed so much lower rates for cloth woven with a fly-shuttle that the weaver was in some cases compelled to revert to the old shuttle. A constant obstacle which is only overcome by patience has been the conservation of the weaver. Even where the child using the fly-shuttle is able to earn more than his father, the parent working at his side has not always been willing to change. But if the work is still far from complete, the fly-shuttle has now got a footing nearly everywhere and in many areas in which intensive work has been done the old shuttle is practically extinct. Automatic looms are now being introduced in some places, but their comparatively high cost raises a difficulty which does not attend the introduction of the fly-shuttle.†

Space forbids further details but the data quoted epitomizes the efforts of Government to assist Industrialism.

EXPORTS

Let us glance at a summary of the principal exports which many Indians, including Mr. Lajpat Rai, term a "drain" on India, overlooking the fact that the exports exceed the imports by more than $255,000,000.

*Same as preceding.

†Memoranda, page 1414.

Jute and jute manufactures head the list of exports, their value in 1927–1928 amounting to $310,000,000 and in 1928–1929 to $320,000,000. India holds almost a monopoly of the raw jute in the world. Other countries have attempted to cultivate the plant but so far with little success. Since most of the jute in India is to be found in the Bengal Presidency, a large number of manufacturing mills have been built near Calcutta both upstream and downstream on the Hooghly River.

The principal purchasing countries of raw jute in 1928–1929, in tons, were: Germany, 260,000; United Kingdom, 202,000; France, 110,000; United States, 94,000; Italy, 61,000; Belgium, 55,000; Spain, 43,000. The exports of gunny bags of all kinds for the last three years have averaged 470,000,000 bags per year, valued at $92,500,000. These were shipped to all parts of the world for grain, cement, sugar, cotton, manures, coal, sand and like purposes. Australia was the largest buyer, the volume of her purchases amounting to $19,000,000, while Java, Cuba and the United Kingdom expended approximately $8,000,000 each, closely followed by Chile, China and South Africa. The United States is not a large purchaser of manufactured bags, since we import mainly the sacking and Hessian cloth and make the sacks in our own factories. The Argentine Republic pursues the same policy. The value of sacking and gunny cloth exceeds that of bags by 33 per cent, the value in 1928–1929 amounting to $117,500,000, the largest purchasers, in order, being the United States, Argentine Republic, Canada, United Kingdom, Australia and China. It is thus seen that Indian exports find a wide field of trade.

RICE AND TEA

India produces the finest rices in the world, of high dietetic value, and exports nearly 2,000,000 tons a year at an annual value of almost $150,000,000. Scientific research has accomplished much in this field, over 1,000,000 acres now being sown in improved varieties.

The history and growth of the tea trade of India is the greatest romance of all the exports. Seed was imported from China and successfully grown in India before the shrub was found to be indigenous on the foothills of the Himalayas, but the Chinese seed has prevailed in the main. British capital and British enterprise added this industry to the resources of the country, although in recent years Indian investors have followed in their steps. While the plant of the fibre is cultivated by the peasantry, its manufacture for commercial use is still principally in British hands. Nearly 75,000 acres are now under cultivation, producing approximately 400,000,000 pounds of leaf annually, the exports amounting to $125,000,000 a year.*

The United Kingdom was the most valuable client of the tea industry, buying 300,000,000 pounds a year as against 11,000,000 purchased by Canada and 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 by the United States. The tea industry spends large sums on research work in India for the protection and improvement of crops and on sales propaganda throughout the world. In these respects, it is the best organized industry in India.

ORES AND METALS

The exports of ore in 1927–1928 were 700,000 tons, valued at $6,500,000, but this trade is now seriously threatened by the low prices of Russian ore from the Caucasian Mountains, where the mines are worked by Soviet Government labor and the products sold in Europe at extremely low prices.

Government Geological Survey has uncovered large deposits of iron ore in Singhbhum and Orissa, and the results of this investigation show that this portion of India contains reserves of three thousand million tons, which is more than can be smelted by the total amount of coking coal of metallurgical quality known to exist in India, even if the whole amount of such coal were reserved for the iron and steel industry. It is believed that experiments now being made to remedy the friable qualities of the ore will render the metal suitable for home manufacture and therefore imports will be reduced even if exports of minerals are not increased.

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*Ceylon products are not to be included in these estimates, since Ceylon is a Crown Colony and politically distinct from India although a nearby island.

Conclusion

Nationalism is dependent upon the agglomeration of the particular units of a common territory into a cohesive whole. The predominant feature of the spirit and sentiment of nationalism is the conscious conviction of common interests and common ideals. Crystallization of that conviction has developed in every nation of the world by the intermingling of peoples in society and the fusing of divergent stocks by marriage. The very basis of nationality is consolidation and congregation.

Since caste statutes deny intermarriage of castes and forbid intermingling of society, the assimilation and comprehension of national and international problems and principles are even more vitally essential in India than in other countries. Industrialism will be a potent factor in freeing the people from poverty and stagnation and in enabling each citizen to take his part not only as a legal unit but as an active participant in the affairs of state.

Education, transportation and industrialism are three fundamentals of the foundation of responsive and responsible government. They are the bedrock of nationalism.

CHAPTER X

"SONG OF THE CITIES" IN PROSE

Only 10 2/5 per cent of the Indian peoples live in urban areas. This metropolitan population is unequally distributed, varying from 23 per cent in the British-governed districts in Bombay Presidency to 3 per cent in the Province of Assam.

In a country of such gigantic size, it is remarkable that there are only thirty-three cities with a population of more than 100,000, and only fifty-one more with a populace of more than 30,000, in the whole of India including Burma. Calcutta, with 1,400,000 inhabitants, is the second largest metropolis in the British Empire, while Bombay, with 1,250,000 residents, is third.* The city of Hyderabad, with 404,000 dwellers, including its cantonment, is the largest town in any Native State.

Nearly three-fourths of this 10 2/5 per cent who reside in urban districts are to be found in the smaller towns, which usually combine the status of a municipality with that of the governmental centre of the surrounding terrain. Many men leave their families in their village homes and migrate to the commercial communities for barter or work in the numerous bazaars and small shops which are the factories where the major portion of Indian goods is produced. Most of these itinerant workers come from the lowest rural strata, the low castes and "Untouchables," who have nothing to lose in their social standing by emigrating from their caste homesteads. Due to their low literacy and impermanent habitations,† this class of workers causes great difficulties in the organization of industry, the uplifting of their standard of living and the fitting of them for the responsibilities of citizenship. As centres of governmental administration and of the courts, and as the locale of universities and institutions of higher learning,* the towns are the arenas of action of the barristers, the journalists, the propagandists, the candidates and the public representatives of all political parties and communities. The Civil Services and the Courts offer the widest and, in fact, almost the only field for the educated classes, and necessarily administrations of government and law are centred in the cities. The municipalities, therefore, collect the highest and the lowest literates of the Indian commonalty.

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*Census for India, 1921. According to the census for the United States, 1920, Philadelphia had a population of 1,823,000 and Detroit had 993,678, our third and fourth largest cities.

†Calcutta is the birthplace of only 33.5 per cent of its inhabitants and it is reckoned that not more than 25 per cent of the permanent residents look upon the city as their home. The last census established that there are twice as many male inhabitants as female in Calcutta, and that the same disparity was almost equally striking in Bombay.

To the observant traveller and European resident, the towns offer the sharpest examples of the wide gulfs between the educated and the uneducated proletariats. It requires little effort for the investigator to perceive the colossal obstacles in the paths of the social and political evolutions of India. Every municipality possesses slums where people live in almost animal state, for the itinerant laborers bring to the urban areas the same primitive habits of life which are observed in the villages. When the same standards of sanitation, or, more accurately, the same omissions of sanitation, are exercised in overcrowded rookeries, the results defeat polite language. Certainly consequent conditions are critical to health and even to life itself. Going into the courts and government offices, the observer finds a body of men erudite in Western language and Western *modus operandi* who have superimposed the education and the training of a Western polity upon their Eastern marrows. Imbibing the tenets and traditions of an alien civilization, yet ingrained in the creeds and customs of Eastern diatheses, the academic Indians present a unique and distinct stratum of society.

The census of 1921 revealed that 70 per cent of the tenements in Bombay were classified as consisting of only one room with the average number of occupants of each rated at 4.3 persons. The congestion of the poorer quarters in the majority of other municipalities is almost as deplorable. Let us read from the Indian Statutory Commission Report, which "carries the authority of the members, both Indian and British," the findings of official investigators in regard to tenement conditions and the efforts being made to improve them.*

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*There is a university in the capital town of every Province, except Assam, as well as in many other industrial and religious centres such as Benares and Aligarh.

> There has been a material improvement in housing conditions in some industrial areas since the census report of 1921 was drawn up. The terrible slums of Indian cities mostly grew up in the last century, and the work of Improvement Boards, even in the places where they were set up, was at first slow and limited. But nowadays, as the debates in the Legislative Assembly and elsewhere have shown, the conscience of enlightened India has been stirred. Careful municipal control of new buildings is now the rule, and in Bombay, for example, the City Improvement Trust—now merged in the municipality—has to its credit a list of large schemes which are providing light and air in areas formerly the site of insanitary hovels. The work has been carried out with the co-operation and support of business men, both British and Indian, and of local landlords, and has been supplemented by the housing schemes of the Bombay Government, which are helping to provide out of public funds a better class of tenement. Similar progress has begun in other of the large Presidency towns, and many municipal bodies have made a start elsewhere. Some of the jute companies of Calcutta† have laid out for their work-people long lines of healthy tenements, which form a striking contrast to the filthy shanties to be seen in the same area. In Cawnpore† we inspected the modern quarters provided by one of the leading textile firms for the families of their operatives, and there is a distinct tendency on the part of many big employers in India to develop the welfare side of their relations with their employees. But when all has been said, there is a vast amount of work still to be done before the general standard of urban housing for working people in India can be regarded as reasonably good, and the most difficult part of the task will be to instill into the minds of the slum-dwellers themselves the desire for something better.
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> It is the future of these many millions which must be the chief concern of all who take a broad view of Indian problems, and because the greatness of the task still to be discharged can only be measured when

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*Vol. I, page 21.

†Bombay mills are largely Indian-owned, but the jute mills of Calcutta and the textile mills of Cawnpore are mainly British-controlled.

one appreciates how much must be done to raise their standard of life and to fit them for the responsibilities of citizenship. As yet their education is far too low to admit of effective and continuous organization amongst themselves, and those who speak for Indian labor are not as a rule men who have risen from their own ranks.*

The endeavors of British and Indians to improve the housing standards of the workers are both humanitarian and philanthropic. Their efforts are indeed praiseworthy for their difficulties are great. Habit makes natural, social segregation makes necessary and religion, in part, makes obligatory the unhealthy living conditions of the tenement dwellers. As for working conditions, factory owners are compelled to furnish and live up to Western standards for labor, since India is a member of the League of Nations and is in close touch with the International Labor Bureau. The Indian Factory Act was passed in accordance with the recommendations of the Washington Conference and other international conventions. The administration of this act is in the hands of the provincial governments as a "reserved subject." While a Chief Inspector of Factories is required in each Province, the number of general inspectors is not always adequate, a matter pointed out by the Statutory Commission.

It may be noted that the report mentioned that the improvement of slum conditions is being carried on by "business men and local landlords." While there are notable instances of beneficent services by academic members of the Civil Services and the Bar, as a whole the university graduates hold themselves aloof and apart from matters concerning the laborers and are distinctly class-conscious of their mental advantages and consequent prestige. In these quarters caste laws are stringent bars to intermingling of social interests. While not all university men are high-caste, those of ordinary rank are usually the strictest observers of caste customs, zealously and jealously upholding their increased "izzat" (prestige). They are the "nouveaux-riches" of Indian society.

A striking case in point is that of Doctor Bhim Rao Ramji

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*Indian Statutory Commission Report, vol. I, pages 21 and 22.

Ambedkar, the "Untouchable" delegate to the Round Table Conference in London in November, 1930. Holder of the degrees of Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia University, in New York, and Doctor of Science from the University of London, author of standard and authoritative works on Indian finance,* this scholar is compelled to live in Parel, the slum of the scavenger "Untouchables," which lies on the humid outskirts of Bombay from which no currents of breeze blow toward the city, for even the winds wafted over the dwellings of the "Untouchables" may pollute the breath of the caste peoples. The men of caste use his books but they would not "defile" themselves by contact with the author. As Mr. Charles A. Selden reported† in his account of the astounding event in London when the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda had as his dinner guests Rao Bahadur Sir Annepu Patro, a Brahman, and Doctor Ambedkar, the "Untouchable":

> It is true none of these men is typical of his own caste and class, so that the table set for three was more a sign of an isolated miracle than a symbol of any material change as yet in India's five-thousand-year-old social system.

The humanitarians who are working to sanitate the contaminated tenement sectors are confronted by gigantic tasks. To cleanse the Augean stables of Indian slums is indeed a feat requiring the efforts of many like unto Hercules.

These conditions exist in all Indian towns. One slum looks much like another, so in our visit to the five cities we shall omit them but not obliterate from consideration the fact that each town has its native quarters putrid with filth and pestilence and reeking with that indescribable and unforgettable odor of India, a pungent mustiness heavy with curry powder and rancid grease, cheap tobacco, oil of cocoanut, garlic, musk, withered jasmine flowers and spice; where the throb of the drums beats incessantly, monotonously, and the clamor of the wrangling rabble crashes against the ear-drums incessantly, maddeningly, the cries of the vendors piercing the discordant din like the harrowing wails of banshees. India incarnate!

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*Both "The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India" and "The Problem of the Rupee," books developed from the theses by which Doctor Ambedkar won his doctorates at Columbia and the University of London, are widely quoted by Indian politicians.

†The New York *Times*, November 30, 1930.

Chicago on the Arabian Sea: Bombay

A towering city of gleaming alabaster against slopes of emerald hills that sweep into the misty blue of the soaring Ghats; a strenuous city that juts out into the indigo sea for eleven miles in a giant arc in whose arm float yachts and dhows* and ships from every nation: Bombay, gateway to India.

> Royal and Dower-royal, I, the queen,
> Fronting thy richest seas with richer hands—
> A thousand mills roar through me where I glean
> All races from all lands.

So Bombay aptly described herself as queen of the Empire to Victoria, Empress of India, through the pen of Rudyard Kipling in the "Song of the Cities."

Color and commerce are two impinging impressions of this seething metropolis. Extraordinarily broad boulevards and spacious squares lined with imposing government buildings of Gothic architecture, massive, modern shops and clubs of Western design; congested thoroughfares teeming with luxurious Rolls-Royces and Packards intermixed with trucks (mostly Chevrolets) and brightly painted carts drawn by hump-shouldered bullocks, donkeys laden with huge loads or ridden by Mohammedan ladies enveloped in sack-like robes that cover them from head to foot with small veiled squares for their eyes; native traffic policemen clearing a one-way street for the bodyguard of the governor,—giant Sikhs and Punjabi Mussulmans magnificent in crimson uniforms and emblazoned with the royal insignia, yellow sashes and towering turbans,—who ride by on beautiful Arabian steeds; smart-frocked Englishwomen coming out of "Liberty's"† or other British shops or French

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*Arabian sailboats.

†The same firm as the noted store in London.

"magasins" which are duplicates in buildings and in wares of their London and Parisian prototypes; casual-speaking Englishmen with humorous eyes and strong jaws being driven through the traffic jam in American cars by native chauffeurs to some bank or court or club; near-sighted babus* wearing metal-rimmed spectacles and Western hats, sedately carrying brief-cases or tied manuscripts; sweet-faced Hindu women wrapped in brilliant saris; pedestrians from every corner of the East that invariably swarm in the middle of the streets in preference to the sidewalks; banks and shipping houses that look like those on Broadway from Wall Street to the Battery; office buildings and piers that might be in New York, were they not so clean; eighty-three cotton mills where 180,000 Indians labor; eighty degrees† of heat, day in and day out; picture streets and picture skies: pageantry of Bombay!

To step into the clubs or shops or to drive by night along the harbor front and numerous boulevards, and then up the terraced heights of Malabar Hill‡ with its beautiful villas of European residents and wealthy natives, can easily make one think he is in the Occident. But by day, the exotic and uproarious throngs of arrogant Arabs, swashbuckling Afghans, pearl-selling Persians, skirted Burmese, native students in ill-fitting Western clothes and horn-rimmed glasses, bold-eyed Mahrattas, white-robed Swarajists with Gandhi caps, bearded Sikhs and that peculiar sect, the Parsees, wearing gorgeous raiment and odd shiny hats, permit no doubt that this picturesque pandemonium is the pulsing Orient.

Usually arriving at Bombay at night,§ the weekly steamer moves off a long coast line rimmed with lights. As the ship nears the shore, the traveller sees massive buildings bordering a wide boulevard along which numerous cars are speeding, a perfect picture of Michigan Avenue and Chicago with a sheared skyline! Later impressions add to this first comparison, for the atmosphere of Bombay has much of that restless exuberance, that ferment, not of the old but of the new order of affairs, that permeates America's second city. As Chicago epitomizes the spirit of the West, Bombay seems to bespeak the spirit of New India. If underneath that bluster and bravado New India can evolve even one-half the fortitude and stamina that forged our vigorous West, what a country India will be! Perhaps Bombay's iconoclastic disorder is only enamel, only a surface jingoism, even as Al Capone's Chicago is superstrata. Whatever time unearths in the soul of the city, Bombay will always seem to me Chicago-on-the-Arabian-Sea.

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*Native clerks. The great number of Indians with defective eyesight is strikingly noticeable throughout the sub-continent.

†The middays of Bombay are very hot, but the cool nights bring the annual mean temperature down to 80 degrees. New York City's annual mean temperature is 52 degrees.

‡The fashionable sector of Bombay overlooking beautiful Back Bay. If you can imagine the homes and gardens of Miami Beach transported to a terraced hillside overlooking the most beautiful crescent harbor in the world, you can visualize a semblance of Malabar Hill.

§The boats of the Peninsula and Orient Line, or the P. and O. as it is always called, premier shipping service between London and Bombay, usually arrive at Bombay between midnight and 2 A.M. in order that hundreds of mail bags and pieces of freight may be unloaded in time for the ships to sail at 9 A.M. for Ceylon and Australia.

Although the coast of Bombay is swathed in traditions that trail back into remote centuries, the city was built by British ingenuity and British engineering. When the ships of the Western traders put ashore on this swampy coast, they found twelve marshy little islands grouped near the malarious fringes of a narrow but fertile strip of land that lies between the forbidding wall of the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. In 1661 three of these small isles, the largest of which was Bombay, then eleven and a half miles long and three to four miles wide, were ceded to England as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, Princess of Portugal, on the occasion of her marriage to Charles II of England who then leased Bombay to the East India Company at an annual rental of £10!

On this pestilent island the British traders built a factory and from that small beginning grew the magnificent metropolis of Bombay, now a spacious city of uninterrupted breadth, for bridges, causeways and filled-in land connect the various islands to each other and to the peninsula itself. What we have done in the Panama Canal Zone, the British did in Bombay by metamorphosing a swampy death hole into a healthy thriving area. That is how a fifty-dollar-a-year island grew into the mainland and became Bombay, second city of India and third city of the British Empire.

While Bombay owes its enterprising and prosperous modernity to the British, the majority of its industries and commerce is to-day in the hands of Indians and of Parsees, descendants of the Persians who fled to India in the eighth century following the Mohammedan conquest of Persia. Although the Parsee residents number only 55,000,* they practically control the philanthropic and industrial affairs of the city. They are essentially traders and bankers, rivalling the Jews in their flair for making and accumulating money. They form a rich and influential merchant class, their shrewdness and acquisitiveness giving them prominence in financial and commercial enterprises. They are a kindly, generous people, a number having been knighted for their philanthropies or for their services to the British Government to which they are notably loyal.

The Parsee men can always be distinguished by their rich garments and shiny black hats shaped like cloven hoofs. The women are not segregated as are the Mohammedans and Hindus and the majority are well educated. A goodly number partake of the social life at some of the clubs and at the Taj Mahal Hotel, where these dark-eyed beauties may frequently be seen dancing, robed in gorgeous silks and fairly hung with resplendent jewels. Theirs is an olive-skinned, Latin-Turkish loveliness which blooms languidly and seductively.

These interesting folk are descendants of the ancient Zoroastrian fire-worshippers and they still preserve a number of religious rites which are quite unlike those of any other people. They keep the sacred household fire perpetually burning and believe that a child must be born on the ground floor of his house in order to begin life in proper humility and, having worthily completed his days, his body must not pollute the earth, contaminate the sea or be consumed by fire. Therefore all corpses are exposed to the voracity of birds.

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*There are only 110,000 Parsees in the world, half in Bombay and the other half mainly in Surat, 167 miles to the north.

In Bombay the five famous Parsee Towers of Silence crest one of the heights of Malabar Hill, where the gleaming white towers with their friezes of living vultures rise above the tree tops of a beautiful park surrounded by high walls. Through the gateway of an outer enclosure one may glimpse the expansive gardens within and a flight of eighty steps which mount to the entrance of an inner wall which surrounds the sanctuaries of the dead. The bodies of all Parsees are brought to this Zoroastrian cemetery and placed on grills within the cylindrical Towers of Silence which are open to the sky and to the rapacious vultures that devour the flesh. It is said that in half an hour nothing but a skeleton remains, but the bones are left to bleach in the sun and wind until they are entirely dry. Then the gloved carriers of the dead remove the skeleton from the grooves and cast it into a well where the bone-dust slowly accumulates.

This method of interment originated from the veneration of the Parsees for the elements and for the doctrines of Zoroaster, who taught that rich and poor must meet in death, the contrivance of the well permitting the literal performance of this tenet. While the basic principles of this creed are certainly not repellent, one cannot but feel shivers of repulsion running down his backbone when passing the cypress-girdled mortuaries, for, whether in the pale light of the moon or under the blazing glare of the sun, the ravenous vultures are ever sitting in gruesome rows on the white parapets of the alabaster towers.*

While the riot of races and the ancient worships of Parsees, Hindus and Moslems have continued unchanged, the prosperity and modernity of this great port have increased. A Development Directorate was created by the Government of Bombay in 1920 with the object of providing for the development of the city and the relieving of congestion which prevails in the metropolis. The programme of work which the Government has already performed or is now carrying out through the agency of the Directorate is, in part, the provision of 50,000 one-roomed tenements for the working classes; the reclamation of 1,145 acres in Back Bay and of 132 acres in the harbor; the development of South Salsette, the larger island which intervenes between part of Bombay and its mainland, partly for residential and partly for industrial purposes; the provision of additional industries beyond the limits of the city; the improvement of the supply and transport of building materials. Industrial and residential colonies which have been established outside Bombay are striking evidences of the notable achievement of the Directorate.

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*The largest of the five towers is 276 feet in circumference, the smaller ones being almost equal in size.

The late Maharajah Sir Pertab Singh, ruler of the State of Idar (north of Bombay, near Baroda) and a renowned loyalist, once said to Lord Minto: "Sahib, the day you forget you have a white face, you will lose India." In his book on Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian Communist, Al Kafir comments on Sir Pertab's succinct observation: "The late Maharajah of Idar might have made the equally pertinent remark: 'Sahib, the day *we* forget you have a white face, you will lose India!'" One is reminded of these epitomes when in Bombay; for in this city facing the lands of the white men, where ships filled with brown and white merchants, politicians and students ply back and forth, and where wealth and potence of brown and white are equal in the marts and banks, contact seems closer between East and West. Here it is easier for the brown to forget that the government has a white face.

Bombay is a cauldron of clashing political interests, a battleground of the contesting native parties: the Swarajists; the Nationalists; the Communists, who are closely allied with the Soviet; the Unionists; and all the numerous, and seemingly innumerable cliques of Indian politics. Here the communal clashes are constant and the party cleavages are ceaseless, and although 900 miles from the country's capital, Bombay is the main arena of party strife, a composite Madrid and Moscow.

Built by the brains and the brawn of the Occident, Bombay vibrates with the blood and breath of the Orient.

Power on Silt: Calcutta

Threadneedle Street, the Thames embankment, Grays Inns of Court, Regent Street, lifted en bloc and set down amid temples, mosques, bazaars and intricate Indian alleyways and courtyards on uncertain sands that seep into the muddy waters of the shifting Hooghly; structures of strength with their feet in the oozing mud of a wilful river; "power on silt": Calcutta.

> Me the Sea Captain loved, the River built,
> Wealth sought and Kings adventured life to hold,
> Hail England! I am Asia—Power on Silt,
> Death in my hands, but Gold!*

Calcutta, with a quarter of a million more people than Bombay, is a rival of the West coast port. The two cities have a similar background of history (for Calcutta also was built by British conquering the forces of nature), but a totally dissimilar atmosphere. Like so many Britishers who become more and more British the farther they journey from home, so with these cities. Calcutta, facing the East, breathes England, pulsates England, *is* England. Compared with Bombay, Calcutta has solidity in exchange for beauty; tenacity for turbulence; power more than color; trade rather than commerce; jute supplanting cotton; a sultry humid haze and a mud-brown river instead of a glorious golden downpour on a sparkling sea. In Bombay one senses a taking over of the city by the Indians and the Parsees, a receding of the status of the British to that of impermanent benefactors; but you can no more imagine Clive Street† or Chowringhi Road† "gone Indian" than you can picture the Bank of England being run by Gandhi.

The Sea Captain of Mr. Kipling's rhyme was one Joe Charnock, a man as rugged as his name, a sort of English Daniel Boone, who sailed up the muddy waters of the Hooghly in

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*From "Song of the Cities." Mr. Kipling's literal meaning was that Calcutta is the epitome of England in Asia, a sturdy house built on shifting sands, that proffer wealth providing you gamble with death.

†The Wall Street and Fifth Avenue of Calcutta.

1690 and landed on a jungle bank not far from the ancient shrine of the loathsome Kali, goddess of fear and terror, whose thirst for slaughter and destruction can be appeased only by fresh blood. On this forbidding site, 120 miles from the sea, Joe Charnock and his handful of men built a barricaded shelter, the original Fort William, and engaged in trade with the multitudes of pilgrims who came to pay homage to the monstrous deity.

This unprepossessing post was really strategically located, for it was not merely situated on holy waters hard by one of the most sacred Hindu temples, but it was planted in the heart of the most productive and densely populated area of Hindustan at the very gateway of the principal waters of northern India, high up on the Hooghly which is the main arm of the mighty Ganges, that great stream which rushes from the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal with gradually decreasing speed, splitting into numerous channels which topsoil and nourish the great Gangetic plain and delta with rich dark mould from the mountains.

In 1700 Joe Charnock purchased three nearby villages from the son of the Emperor Aurangzeb and the little *entrepôt* continued to grow. The colony had increased to 10,000 people when the Nawab of Bengal seized the fort on a hot June night in 1756. Most of the settlers escaped down the river in ships but 146 men and women were captured and crushed into one cell of the guard-house in the Fort, the terrible "Black Hole of Calcutta."* We have already read of the tragic perishing of all but twenty-three of the victims by the following morning and about the recapture of the Fort by the gallant Clive and his subsequent victory over the Nawab in the momentous battle at Plassey, just north of the post.

This little colony which had survived a precarious past grew into a settlement with a brilliant future. From the landing place on the river bank which led to the sanctuary of the fearsome Kali, or Kali Ghat,* the post took its name: Calcutta.

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*At one corner of the main post-office in the heart of Calcutta is a black marble slab which covers the actual site of the guardroom, which was only twenty-two feet by fourteen feet.

The settlement was destined to become the premier political and commercial city in all the far-flung dominions of Great Britain; a city in but not of the East, with massive buildings standing only a few feet above the murky Hooghly on the uncertain foundation of Ganges mud, great jute mills† rearing their smoke stacks for forty miles along the river front which is speared with docks, jetties and long piers, piled with shipments of jute, hides and skins, coal from Bihar and chests of tea from the gardens of Darjeeling and of Assam, jutting out into the brown waters which are thronged with water craft of every type the East has ever seen or made.

The pride and potency of this "London of the East" increased throughout the nineteenth century, but in 1912 her pride was hurt when her imperial honor as Capital of India was lost to Delhi and a few years later her potency was endangered when Bombay edged into the proud position of premier port of India, both but concessions to the laws of national growth.‡

But Calcutta maintains her undimmed dignity as Capital of Bengal, the seat of a governor, the possessor of a great university and numerous Imperial museums, memorials and libraries, and as the focal point of English industry and society. For a sahib stationed in the *mofussil* (a colloquialism meaning the country districts), Calcutta epitomizes the nearest dream of "home" to be found east of Suez, and every one who is anyone spends the Christmas season there, shopping in the imposing and luxuriously complete stores and indulging in the pleasures of the theatres, restaurants, clubs and—of supreme importance to the sahibs—the race course. The Indian Grand National, the greatest sporting event in India, is run every Christmastide, and there are polo tournaments between the teams of the Maharajahs of the different native States and the crack regiments of the Indian Army, cricket matches and glittering state functions at Government House, balls at the Saturday Club (which is comparatively the Newport Casino of India) and a varied programme of amusements that brighten the monotonous months of the rest of the year for those from the mofussil.

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*Ghat in Hindu means "landing-place," "steps on a river-side" or "mountain pass." The steps leading down into the Holy Ganges on which the bodies are burned and the two mountain ranges of India, the Eastern and Western Ghats, thus have the same appellation. In truth, the Western Ghats back of Bombay do look like giant steps.

†There are about 250 jute mills employing approximately 100,000 workers on the outskirts of Calcutta. Bengal controls a monopoly of the jute of the world.

‡With consolidation and linking of the Indian peoples, a capital in the centre of such an enormous country was a civic necessity. Also, with the growth of autonomy grew the physical requirements for larger and larger accommodations for administration which Calcutta could not supply. Delhi is the logical physical and political pivot of India. Since the majority of trade is with the West, Bombay, an ocean port facing west, is the natural passageway for Indian commerce.

The sojourner can leave these gayeties and visit two temples in different suburbs of this most English city in the East, to behold two striking contrasts of Hindu India: a Jain temple and the shrine of Kali.

The Jains are a sect of Hindus who follow the teachings of Mahavira, who is believed to have been a contemporary of Buddha. The tenets of this teacher are closely akin to those of Buddha in their benevolence and humanity, and Mahavira, like Buddha, did not attempt to destroy Hinduism but to reform it. There are over a million Jains in India and these people believe that all animals and plants possess souls, so the Jains refuse to eat in the open air after dark or during rain, and will not walk in the wind without covering their noses and mouths lest they breathe in insects of the air and so destroy them, and, for the same reason, they strain their drinking water three times.

The temple they have built outside Calcutta is an exquisite piece of exotic architecture, entirely inlaid with myriads of colored stones and glass, reflected in a mirror lake surrounded by beautiful gardens. There is a Chinese touch to the design and a Burmese affability in the pleasantness of the Jain keepers of the temple.

On another side of Calcutta, only a mile and a half from the English Cathedral, on the bank of an old bed of the Ganges, is the repellent temple of Kali which is the particular proprietorship of a family of Brahmans who slaughter animals every morning beside the shrine of the Goddess of Destruction in order to appease her appetite for blood. Until the British forced the priests to stop the slaying of human victims, including pilgrims who came from far and wide to worship at this sacred site, the Goddess was best mollified by the blood of a virgin. But to-day the heinous deity must be satisfied with 150 or 200 kids, whose throats are cut each day by the priests, on the altar of the bulbous-eyed wife of Siva.*

It is a revolting task, but we really should visit this temple which is one of the most important of the many shrines erected throughout India to this principal goddess of the Hindu hierarchy. Early morning is the best hour to drive by motor or go by boat to the sanctuary. Leaving our car at a short distance, or stepping from the boat to the ghats leading up from the muddy stream, we make our way along a narrow lane lined with the shrines of minor deities and the stalls of sellers of repulsive religious symbols, our servant cleaving a passage through the throngs of jostling devotees, sacred cows and pariah dogs, past rows of wild-eyed, self-torturing fakirs squatted on spikes, holy men whose naked bodies are smeared with sanctified grease and cow dung, whining mendicants with festering sores and sickening mutilations. We hold our breaths as long as possible as we push through the milling crowds, for the stenches are almost overpowering.

This lane of agonies and hysteria ends at the gateway to the sanctuary, which has derived its hallowedness from the legend that when the corpse of Kali was cut to pieces by order of the gods and chopped up by the disc of Vishnu, one of her fingers fell on the very spot. A pillared portico with flights of steps leading up from three sides surrounds the shrine. Shouldered and jostled by the mob of worshippers whose eyes are aflame with fanaticism, we wait uneasily in front of the sanctum sanctorum for the great doors to swing back and reveal the idol.

Slowly the portals move outward. The clamors of the frenzied mob drop to wailing moans as the pious prostrate themselves in fear and supplication. A monstrous idol with a terrifying black face and goggling eyes peers out through strings of hair, and an out-thrust tongue drips blood. The four-armed body is painted a ghastly blue. Around its neck is a string of skulls, about the loins a crimson girdle; one arm grasps a reddened sword, another a gory human head, the third is raised in menace, the fourth points down to hell. The priests chant rapturously, the worshippers moan ecstatically, the gongs boom and the doors swing shut.

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*Pronounced Sheeva. Kali is called various names in different forms or different localities, being synonymous with Drugs, Parvati, Devi and Bhawani.

On the altar of sacrifice the priests begin their work of the day. Shrieking goats are dragged along still dripping from the waters of a sacred brook where they have been consecrated by being dipped in the murky stream in the midst of praying devotees who immerse themselves in the holy water. Brahmans in blood-smeared garments force the terrified animals one by one up on the slimy platform. The executioner's blade swings down in a gleaming arc. The mob rushes forward to wallow in the gory sluice or be bespattered with the sacrificial blood: it is holy. Some of the pious crawl on their stomachs about the altar, others lap up a stream that trickles out of a drain at the back of the temple: it has washed the feet of Kali,—it is holy. The crowds beat their chests in paroxysms of dementia, and some litter the ground where pools of crimson are fast congealing. The Asian sun beats down on a scene of slaughter and perverted piety that sickens and salivates our very souls.

A shadowy Gandhi stands by our side and we speculate upon the "love and beauties" of the creed of this Mahatma (saint) who expounds the purity and humanity of his doctrines. What does he do when he attends the monstrous rituals of this major goddess of his religion, the wife of the god Siva? I do not know; but of Hinduism in general he proudly says: "I am a Hindu before I am a Swarajist."

A nausea of horror retches the spirit. We flee the saturnalia of gore and make our way as swiftly as possible back down the lane of demoniacal pilgrims, and escape in our car as fast as we can to the sanity and cleanliness of Calcutta without visiting the burning ghats near the temple. How clean seems the smoke of the jute mills, how welcome the white of the faces!

Perverted piety: Kali ghat. Power on Silt: Calcutta.

Seven Dead Capitals and One New: Delhi

Seven cities in one, Delhi* is the living memorial of centuries of imperial rule. Its history embodies the crucial memorabilia of all India from the dawn of the Aryan civilization down to the present day.

Authentic records show no time when there was not a commanding settlement on the site of this notable capital. The central story of the ancient "Mahabharata"† narrates the struggle between two families of the ruling Lunar race of Aryans for a sector of country surrounding Delhi, and many traditions speak of an Aryan king called Yudhishthera being the founder of Indraprastha, the first city of definite record to rest on the local Delhi. From the time that Mohammed of Ghor swept down through the Khyber Pass in 1193, seized Indraprastha and established Mohammedan supremacy which was to remain paramount for almost seven centuries, history is very vivid and quite explicit regarding the six Delhis that supplanted the first city, each one having a slightly different emplacement, and we can go out to New Delhi and watch for ourselves the writing of a few more pages of history in the construction of the eighth imperial capital.

All of the Delhis have had a tempestuous life, for this royal stronghold on the banks of the Jumna, in the very heart of the northern plains of plenty,‡ has ever been a city of tremendous wealth and consequently a ceaseless temptation to the pillagers and plunderers of all central Asia. We have already sketched the turbulent years from the time that Kutab-ud-Din, who had once been a Turki slave and later Viceroy of India for Mohammed of Ghor, usurped the throne, founded the Slave Dynasty and in 1206 made Delhi his seat of residence, to the time when Babur, the Lion, rushed through the Khyber with his hordes from Tartary, wrested India from the preceding in-

*Pronounced Del'le.

†A great collection of Indian legends in verse, some of them as old as the Vedic hymns, which forms the cyclopedia of the Heroic Age of Northern India.

‡If Tampa, Florida, were moved a little to the west on its line of latitude until it reached the longitude of Washington, D. C., it would be exactly on the opposite side of the world from Delhi.

vaders of his own Moslem faith, and founded the empire which was distinguished by such extraordinary magnificence and glittering splendor that it evoked the title of "The Great Moghul."

During the entire era of Pathan rule, as we may broadly term the reigns of the Moslem sovereigns from 1193 to the imposition of Moghul authority in 1526, the country encircling Delhi was a gory battlefield and even the streets of the city often ran "rivers of blood" and were "heaped with carnage and slaughter." Sometimes the destruction was so complete that it was easier to erect a new capital than rebuild the old: but whether the city site was changed for this reason, or merely for the whim of a ruler, the plain that stretches from the walls of the city is strewn for eleven miles to the south with the crumbled walls and once proud buildings of six different cities as well as with many magnificent structures that have survived intact to awe us with their grandeur. The most noted of these is the Kutab Minar, a great tapering column 240 feet high, with flutings carved in intricate design in which are introduced verses from the Koran, and five corbelled balconies. This far-famed tower of victory, which is placed in the august ranks of the world's greatest architectural achievements, was built between 1210 and 1230, either during or immediately following the reign of Kutab-ud-Din, the Slave King.

The death of Babur, the first Moghul Emperor, was followed by a desperate struggle between his son Humayun and the Pathan King, Sher Shah, who refused to recognize Moghul paramountcy. Humayun, after years of bitter exile, was ultimate victor, but to-day the contest between the two men lives on in the rivalry of structural beauty between their mausoleums which stand almost in sight of each other in one of the old Delhis. The Mosque of Sher Shah, a magnificent sandstone edifice, has been loaded with eulogies by critics of architecture, while the Moghul's tomb, an octagonal mass of rose-colored stone inset with white marble, crowned by a gleaming alabaster dome of surpassing chastity, is even more widely praised. The design of Humayun's mausoleum was adopted for the sublime Taj Mahal in Agra, but it is, as that eminent art critic, Sir

James Ferguson, comments:* "used here [Humayun's sepulchre] without the depth and poetry of that celebrated building [the Taj]. It is, however, a noble tomb and anywhere else must be considered a wonder."

Humayun's son, the great Akbar, and his son, Jahangir, preferred Agra as their capital, but Shah Jahan wearied of Agra after the death of his beloved Queen, Mumtaz-i-Mahal, and it was his orders that raised the great Jama Masjid, with which no mosque except San Sofia in Constantinople can be compared in size and splendor,† and set within the truculent red walls of the Fort his superb dream-palace of marble. It is to Shah Jahan that Delhi owes its revived imperialism and ineradicable resplendence.

To-day the streets of this vibrant city, which is encircled by a great high wall and entered by picturesque twin gates, present a carnival of ever-moving medleys of race and color, in which the stalwart Indians from the north always predominate. Through crooked narrow ways pass bullocks and buffalo carts, tall and narrow camel carts, elephants with swaying howdahs, mules, riding camels, motor cars, omnibuses and strolling sacred cattle.

Chandni Chauk, the broad street of the silversmiths, which runs for a mile from the Lahore Gate of the Fort, built by the Emperor Aurangzeb, to the Lahore Gate in the city wall, is one of the farthest-famed thoroughfares in the world. Certainly it is the gayest and most diversified roadway in color and type in all India as well as one of the busiest marts of the East. Where once clashed the arms of Mongolians and Moslems, Moslems and Moghuls, in combats on which hung the fate of India as well as the fate of Delhi, now stand shops of all sizes and shapes where one is offered spun metals and dazzling jewels that are fit for an emperor's coronet or a chorus girl's bracelet. Out of old biscuit tins or marmalade jars the ingratiating merchants pour warm red rubies and jades, cabochons, garnets and sapphires, carved and cut with whole gardens of designs and inset with pearls or diamonds, until one is fairly dizzy with the glow and glitter and gorgeousness of sparkling gems. Nowhere else in all this world do lapidaries achieve such rich and barbaric effects from stones that would be scorned by our Western jewel lovers of mechanically perfect and geometrically faceted precious stones.

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*"History of Indian and Eastern Architecture," by Sir James Ferguson.

†The Jana Masjid is not only admired by the Moslems but particularly revered because one of its sacred relics is a single hair from the beard of the Prophet.

But the greatest jewel of Delhi is the exquisite marble palace of Shah Jahan, the Emperor-lover, which rises within the rose-red walls of the Fort that stands on the banks of the Jumna. This alabaster palace with salons of ivory marble and walls of panels inlaid with mosaics of precious stones and covered with filagrees of gold and silver, is best described in the words of Bishop Heber, who ejaculated: "The Moghuls designed like Titans and finished like jewellers!"

The Hall of Private Audience, or Dewan-i-Khas, is said to be the most beautiful single apartment in the whole world, and so stirred was Shah Jahan when he first beheld its transcendent beauty that he exclaimed:

Agar Fardaus bar ru-i-zamin ast
Hamin ast wa hamin ast wa hamin ast.

These Persian words, which are engraved in gold on the marble walls above two outer arches, mean:

If there is a Paradise on the face of the earth,
It is this, oh! it is this, oh! it is this.

In 1739, Nadir Shah swooped down on India from Persia, massacred thousands upon thousands in the streets of Delhi and after a fifty-eight-day sacking returned through the Khyber with booty estimated to be worth $116,000,000, which included the glittering Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan that was so encrusted with emeralds, sapphires and rubies that it represented, in full detail, two huge peacocks with outspread tails, as well as the dazzling Koh-i-noor diamond, all of which he carried to Teheran. Since then this great marble salon, where Shah

Jahan once held audiences while seated on his throne supported by the effulgent peacocks, has stood unembellished, like an empty but exquisite jewel box.

Separated from this enchantingly beautiful hall by a garden fragrant with flowers and splashed with fountains, is the Hall of Public Audience, or Dewan-i-Am, a vast pillared auditorium of carved red sandstone, open on three sides. In the centre of the back wall there is a raised recess, panelled in marble and inlaid in jade, agate, lapis lazuli and cornelian, which was known in olden days as "The Seat of the Shadow of God," for here the emperor sat when he held his Durbars.

Rivalling the beauty of the Hall of Private Audience is the Pearl Mosque, the personal place of worship of Shah Jahan, an exquisite edifice of white and gray marble which is carved and inlaid with mother of pearl. It justifies its name.

In after days, during the Sepoy Mutiny, this dream palace, of such delicacy and purity of beauty that no words can fittingly describe it, was used as barrack rooms by the troops. One shudders to think of such defilement of this jewel.

But the chief reminders of the prominent part which Delhi played in the Sepoy Rebellion are the bullet-riddled church of St. James and the battered Kashmir Gate which speaks so eloquently of the surpassing heroism of the attack and retaking of the city by a mere handful of Englishmen who had been entrenched on the noted "Ridge," a mound to the north of the city, for four agonizing months of famine and fighting, besieged on all sides by attack after attack of the overwhelmingly large forces of the mutineers, who had seized and held the city with the Britishers' own guns and ammunition.

Following the incorporation of India into the realms of Great Britain in 1858, Delhi for the second time in seven centuries lost the honor of being capital of the empire. The British established the capital of India at Calcutta, for Delhi had steadily been losing in importance for more than 100 years, due to the tempest of devastations of invading Afghans and Persians and despoiling Hindu Mahrattas, while Calcutta had grown to a great stronghold of English authority.

In 1911, however, King George announced at his Coronation Durbar that administrative growth and national expansion necessitated the removal of the country's capital from crowded Calcutta to the formerly glorious city of Delhi, which is the logical physical and political pivot of India, standing as it does almost equidistant from the three major ports of India: Karachi, Calcutta and Bombay.

So the English Emperor, King George, moved the capital of India back to imperial Delhi, even as the Moghul Emperor, Shah Jahan, had done. To-day Delhi is a radiant city vibrating with brilliant British social life, the coming and going of the Princes of India for play or for convention of the Chamber of Princes,* and the thronging of members of the Legislative Assembly and of thousands of government representatives and clerks.

On the north of the city a new capitol is in process of completion, the New Delhi representing the New India. On a rocky elevation, called the Acropolis, fittingly stands the Viceroy's house and the secretariat, a striking symbol of the unity of power between the British Crown and the Indian peoples. About the feet of the Acropolis are expanding the halls and chambers of an increasingly autonomous government, a capital city that has grown as rapidly as has the Voice of the people.

The eighth Delhi, in keeping with the spirit of the times, has not been built at the cost of the seven Pathan and Moghul Delhis which embrace the glories that have made the name of the city a synonym for Oriental magnificence throughout the world, but beside them; an attribute to past imperialism and an attestation of future federation.

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*The Chamber is a consultative and advisory council of 108 ruling Princes who enjoy permanent dynastic salutes of eleven guns or over, together with other Rulers of States who exercise such full or practically full internal powers that they are qualified, in the opinion of the Viceroy of India, who is President of the Chamber, for individual admission to the Chamber. In addition, 12 members are elected by the Rulers of 127 other native states. The Chamber has convened at Delhi every year since February, 1921, for the purpose of securing the expression of their collective opinion and of providing for counsel in matters of common concern to India as a whole. Two important provisos of the Chamber's constitution are:

"Treaties and internal affairs of individual States, rights and interests, dignities and powers, privileges and prerogatives of individual Princes and Chiefs, their States and the members of their families and the actions of individual Rulers shall not be discussed in the Chamber.

"The institution of the Chamber shall not prejudice in any way the engagements or the relations of any State with the Viceroy or Governor-General (including the right of direct correspondence) nor shall any recommendation of the Chamber in any way prejudice the rights or restrict the freedom of action of any State."

The Chamber was directly instigated by the proposals of the Montague-Chelmsford Report and the ceremony of inauguration was performed in behalf of the King-Emperor by the Duke of Connaught in the Dewan-i-Am of Shah Jahan's marble palace in Delhi.

Seven dead capitals and one new: Delhi.

Sepulchre of Beauty: Agra

Babur, the warrior-poet and descendant of the two Asian Scourges, Chingiz Khan, the Tartar, and Timur, the Turk, after sweeping down upon Delhi and wrenching the throne from the Pathan King, marched 125 miles to the south with his 12,000 Afghans, Arabs and Baluchis to encounter the allied armies of the Rajput Rajas, a great host of 100,000 men and 1,000 elephants. After a terrific battle, Babur won a decisive victory, but so furious had been the assaults of the valorous Rajputs and so great had been the stress of the fray that Babur gave particular care to perpetuate his paramountcy in this section of the country by fortifying a Hindu city that stood upon a scarped hillock almost in sight of the battlefield, a town by the name of Agra which had been held as a frontier outpost for some years by the Moslem Lodi kings.

It was Akbar the Great, grandson of Babur, who determined upon making this citadel his capital and accordingly commanded the construction of a great fortress with battlemented walls of red sandstone that still stand crescent-wise along the bank of the Jumna. So extensive and elaborate was the scale of the Fort that it required eight years to complete in spite of Akbar's autocratic command over thousands upon thousands of artisans. Akbar renamed the site Akbarabad and moved his court from Delhi to the city within the walls that still gleam like jacinth in the brilliance of the Indian sun.

But in a few years Akbar ordered the creation of another great city only twenty-six miles distant from Akbarabad, the magnificent Fatehpur Sikri, which we have already visited. But it was at Agra that Akbar died.

Jahangir, his son, ruled over a glittering court at Agra during the first part of his reign of twenty-two years but he was so occupied in reducing the rebellions of his sons and his subjects, in exalting the influence of his empress, the beloved Nur Jahan, and in festive self-indulgence, that he built only a few structures at Agra and was satisfied to enlarge and beautify the somewhat stern design of Akbar's constructions.

Memories of the autocratic authority of Nur Jahan, who was one of the most remarkable women in history, pervade the walls of Agra. Born in great poverty, but of a noble Persian family, her beauty won the love of Jahangir when as a youthful prince he visited Lahore. Some of the stories run that this Persian lady was born on the caravan route between Kabul and Peshawar, within the grim gorge of the Khyber, and that her parents abandoned her, as a girl baby was of no value to them in their quest for fortune at Akbar's court, but that a rich Persian merchant found her and carried her to Lahore, where this foundling, who rose to be Empress of India, grew up to great beauty and was married to an Afghan warrior who held a high position in the Moghul Empire. Jahangir, although married to a Rajput Princess, could not forget the fascinating Persian despite his father's anger, and as soon as he ascended the throne Jahangir commanded her divorce. The husband refused, so he was killed and the lady brought to the Imperial palace at Agra, where after a brief seclusion as a widow she emerged as the Empress Nur Jahan, "The Light of the World," sometimes called Nur Mahal, "The Light of the Palace."

Nur Jahan, together with her brother, or step-brother if you prefer that version, Asaf Khan, finally wielded complete control over the indolent Jahangir, who thought that anything that his beloved Empress did was right. It is said that Nur Jahan was really the grantor of trading privileges to the English as a reward for the ministrations of a British doctor in the train of the ambassador from England who was seeking trading concessions, on the occasion of the severe burns of a favorite maid of the Empress. Nur Jahan was so stirred by the alleviation of her maid's agony that she promised the doctor anything he might ask, and of course he didn't request a chest of gold or a *flacon* of attar of roses, the enchanting flower essence, which was first made at the orders of this Empress, but certain trading privileges on the Hooghly.

Whether this story is true or not, we know that Nur Jahan is the only Queen of Islam whose signature appears on documents of state. Unfortunately the Queen not only influenced the empire, but finally intrigued against the jealous Imperial princes and Moghul generals who at last seized her as well as the Emperor and held them prisoners. Six months after this rebellion which was led by the heir apparent but not the son of Nur Jahan, Jahangir died in captivity and Shah Jahan, who loved much and built much, ascended the throne and began to spend the prodigious wealth of the empire in erecting buildings which are the glory of Mohammedan architecture.

Within the glistening rose-red walls of Agra, Shah Jahan built the exquisite palace that is the equal, and some say the superior, of the dream palace that he later constructed in Delhi, and within sight of his royal apartments he created "the most lovable monument ever erected," the Taj Mahal, the Sepulchre of his beloved wife, Mumtaz-i-Mahal, daughter of Nur Jahan's brother, Asaf Khan. It is to behold this most beautiful building in all the world—the most perfect creation of its kind that the mind and hand of man have ever achieved—that pilgrims come from far and wide.

I have never known of any one who has been disappointed in this sublime structure, no matter how far he has journeyed. It is a reward for all the distances one may have travelled—a recompense for all one may have endured to reach it. It far exceeds all anticipations, so let us journey to Agra and make a *hadj* to the Taj Mahal.

As almost every one knows, the perfect time to visit the Taj is under the light of the full moon, and I wish, in addition, that you may first behold it as I did, not only radiant in the silver of the moon, for even then you may be surrounded by tourists who make a point of arriving in Agra during the full quarter, but late at night after the gates are locked and the guests departed.

Driving along a wide road bordered by towering trees and shadowy bungalows, we draw up in a great square surrounded by high red sandstone buildings. Before a tremendous gate we rattle the locks and a sleepy keeper finally opens a small aperture in the giant gateway. He refuses to admit us, but a jingle of silver unblocks the way and we bend down to pass through the small opening. As we raise ourselves, we behold at a distance, beyond the shimmering pool and the cypress trees, the most transcendently beautiful vision our eyes will ever see, a creation so incredibly lovely that we expect it to vanish. Awed, we venture to advance, though it doesn't seem possible that any human foot may touch the garden path or the marble terrace which is a mere pedestal for this sublime monument.

We sit on a marble bench and gaze in soul-stirred wonderment at the ethereal Taj, an immense structure of purest marble with an alabaster dome and lofty minarets that are so perfectly proportioned amid settings so marvellously arranged and landscaped that there is no sense of size but of exquisite daintiness. The witchery of its beauty enters our souls, never to depart.

In making the futile attempt to put into words the divine loveliness of the Taj, I do not doubt that I shall be accused of hyperbole. Only those who have been granted the gift to behold this celestial monument can comprehend the inadequacy of words, or photographs, or paintings. To the best of my knowledge, no one has ever been satisfied with a description or a picture. It is like trying to portray the soul that beams from a lover's eyes. There is the same quality of an indefinable interfusion of overpowering mortalness with a divine immortalness. No matter how ridiculous it may sound, this exquisitely and delicately carved structure gleams with a luminous radiance that is quite unearthly. As one poet has written:

Not architecture! as all others are,
But the proud passion of an Emperor's love
Wrought into living stone, which gleams and soars
With body of beauty shrining soul and thought—

We force ourselves to depart, but as long as we remain in Agra we shall haunt the gardens of the Taj, for by sunrise, sunset or moonlight it takes on rarer and rarer beauties the more one beholds it.

Watching the people move about on the steps of the sepulchre from the distance of the fountains, they appear but tiny specks, so vast is the size of the structure. Surprisingly, a near view does not lessen its chastity and the eyes and the heart are bewitched anew with the delicate inlay work and exquisite bas reliefs that have ripened to the mellowed tints of old lace or ivory. Over the great doors, which were once made of translucent slabs of agate until the vandal Jats raided the treasures of Agra, the ninety-nine names of God are inset, and it is said that forty varieties of carnelian are used in each flower that inlays the panels which border the doorway and decorate the walls. Within the softly lighted interior, trellises of marble tracery, lacy and delicate, with inlaid borders, screen two low sarcophagi of jewelled marble that rest on inlaid platforms, Mumtaz-i-Mahal in the centre where Shah Jahan laid her, and Shah Jahan's casket at her side.*

On Sundays Indian men, women and children flock to the Taj, all wearing their most brilliant holiday attire, the turbans and saris, jewels and tinsels, making the gardens a living kaleidoscope in color. The landscape rings with the play of children and the jingle of anklets, for this is the Central Park of Agra to the Indians. The scene is picturesque and interesting, but it is no time to sit enraptured before the sublimity of the Taj.

Many an afternoon I have seen the marble splendor drenched in gold that dimmed to mellowed ivory in the last rays of the setting sun and lingered until the Indian dusk caressed the Taj with purple shadows. I have journeyed three times from the far corners of India to pay homage for even one more moonlight night—and always it was more and more sublime.

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*Shah Jahan had planned to build another sepulchre for himself of black marble, which would have faced the Taj Mahal.

Were it not that one cannot help viewing this peerless memorial from the Jasmine Tower, the most enchanting of the palace's apartments, it would be wise to visit the fortress first. After the Taj, one's eyes are so blinded with beauty that it is impossible to give the appreciation that is warranted by the resplendence of the marble castle. Perhaps it is the perfection of Mumtaz's memorial that usually causes one to recall the loveliness of the Delhi palace before the one in Agra.

Driving through the great fortress gate, a sandstone prelude to the symphony of the marble walls of Shah Jahan's palace, we find superb structures, deserted and still, that are ever revelations to those who know white marble as the lifeless substance seen in Western lands. The Eastern sun ripens the marble to exquisite tints of mellowed ivory and lustrous pearl that are unknown in the West. Add to this radiance of tone, perfect proportion and chastity of design, and you may perhaps understand the rhapsodizing that is inevitable when descriptions are attempted.

Here in Agra are Dewan-i-Khas and Dewan-i-Am that resemble those at Delhi, as well as another Pearl Mosque, but this place of prayer is even more noble than that at Delhi. There is also a tiny Gem Mosque where the women prayed the Prophet to grant them souls.

Passing through chambers with arches and walls of pure marble carved in scrolls of gold and traceries of silver, lighted by windows filled with marble lattices, we reach the Jasmine Tower. There the Great Moghul used to lounge on a black marble throne and watch the domes and minarets of the Taj grow beneath the chisels of his thousands of workmen. Standing in the fretted recess or on the rounded balcony that projects beyond the walls, a fountain that once splashed with Nur Jahan's cherished rose water behind us, walls inlaid with jasper and agate, carnelian and amethyst around us, the curving sweep of the Jumna in front of us, we behold in the distance the domes and minarets of the ethereal Taj arising out of the morning mist, a vision that blesses the eyes and stirs the heart.

Here Shah Jahan died in 1665 after seven years of captivity at the command of his son Aurangzeb, who reigned in Delhi, the capital built by Shah Jahan after the death of Mumtaz. We find ourselves treading softly as we depart from the palace and stronghold of the Moghul Cæsars.

There are other memorials of the Moghuls near Agra, such as the mausoleum of the Great Akbar, grandfather of Shah Jahan, and, of even greater beauty, the tomb of Ghiyas Beg, the Persian, grandfather of the lady of the Taj.

All of these superb and even sublime structures that once expressed the living joys and sorrows of the magnificent Moghuls and that now are still and silent, induce the sentiment that Agra is indeed a "Sepulchre of Beauty."

But there is another Agra that stands side by side this city of petrified loveliness, an Agra that is a thriving metropolis with shoe factories, gold and silver embroidery industries, shops where imitation inlay work is manufactured, colleges, and schools, an animated community of 185,000 people. But one drives through the busy bazaars with dream-filled eyes, and as far as the pilgrim to the Agra of Beauty is concerned, this municipality has no importance. I recall only one thought penetrating my rapturous visions, which was that in this Hindu city of commerce beside the Mohammedan city of marble, I saw scarcely five men with beards dyed henna red, the privilege that is permitted and usually enjoyed by those Moslems who have made the *hadj* to Mecca, the holy city. This custom is exercised in memory of the red beard of the Prophet.

To those who have made their pilgrimage to Agra, this city of memorials of the Moghul Cæsars will ever be: A Sepulchre of Beauty.

The Holy City: Benares

Benares is the holiest of holy cities to 700,000,000 people. From the standpoint of quantitative worship, it is the holiest city in the world. The Hindus believe that, while the remainder of the earth rests on the back of a tortoise, Benares is upheld on the trident of Vishnu, the god of preservation, and that it is the most beloved home of Siva. The Buddhists know that Buddha came to Benares from Gaya and taught and established his doctrines here until his death beside the Ganges in 483 B.C. It is the Jerusalem of Buddhism.

The history of this sanctuary, which is hallowed ground to both Hindus and Buddhists, is entangled in obscurity. The Chinese travellers Fa-Hian and Hiuen Tsang visited the city in 399 A.D. and in 629–645 A.D. respectively, the latter mentioning about 100 temples sacred to Siva which were objects of veneration to thousands of votaries. How old these shrines were we do not know, although it is held certain that Benares was a flourishing and prosperous community six centuries before the Christian era, for Sakyamuni (Buddha) came here to further his religion because it was a great centre. Whatever the intervening history, we are certain that the Emperor Ala-ud-din destroyed a thousand temples and built Moslem mosques on their sites about 1300 A.D. It is due to the iconoclastic fervor of the Mohammedans who continued to rule the city that hardly a single building can be found that dates before the time of Akbar, and there are few which were built in their present form before the era of the Mahratta supremacy in the later half of the eighteenth century. In 1775 Benares was ceded to the English and since that time the holy city, which is visited each year by no less than 1,000,000 pilgrims, has been under the supervision of the British.

We arrive in the dusty, sunbaked European quarter during late afternoon. The time to visit the sacred river is at the hour of sunrise, so we drive about a disappointing area of broad roads and arid spaces bordered with dusty tamarind trees in a vain attempt to escape innumerable peddlers, guides, jugglers and snake-charmers who haunt the long, flagged porches of our hotel until late at night, giving us no peace with their constant importuning. Sword-swallowers thrust long blades down their throats, tricksters do unaccountable things with cards, while others draw cobras from out small round baskets like so many yards of sausage and make them dance on their tails to the plaintive wails of a flute, or cuff a weary little mongoose to do battle with a hooded horror.

Nara raps on our doors long before dawn next morning and we emerge into a chill and frosty blackness to drive by tonga for two miles through the native quarter to the river front. The roads through the European Cantonment are empty and deserted, only the parakeets are awakening in the tamarind trees as we jingle along the dusty highway, but the streets of the Hindu city are already crowded with pilgrims streaming in one direction while the Benares folk are taking down the shutters of their shops or performing under pumps or in the gutters along the thronged thoroughfare ablutions and functions that are usually restricted to the privacy behind closed doors. Many of the pedestrians are swinging brass kettles which they will fill with the sacred waters and carry carefully back to the far and distant corners of the East, for while 1,000,000 pilgrims come each year, they are but the fortunate ones of the great multitudes of devotees; others are supporting great jars atop their heads for the same purpose; two servants in flowered and cotton-wadded coats, barefooted, but with great fat turbans and freshly painted caste marks on their brows, are carrying a crimson bundle slung on a bamboo pole, the conveyance of a high-caste lady too noble to join the pedestrian procession of her more humble sisters, so she sits on a little square of basket work with her feet tucked under her, the four corners of the completely enveloping cover meeting above her head, where they are firmly knotted to the pole; yellow-robed Buddhist priests with one bared shoulder are striding proudly along, while litters of sick and maimed are being borne by faithful relatives or servants to the waters which will transport them straight to heaven if they die with their feet dipped in the sacred stream.

The blackness of early dawn is washed to a faint pearl gray by the time we reach the top of a long series of steps: the far-famed ghats. A hum of chanting voices comes up from the waters as we join the fervent throng and descend the dirty stairs to the water's edge and emerge upon the strange and stirring sight of multitudes standing waist-deep in the holy waters or crouching on platforms built out over the stream. The worshippers are so rapt and ecstatic as they bend and wash and pray that they continue absorbed in their formulæ of invocation. If a Brahman lets eye or mind wander for one moment and omits or changes the order of the ritual of prayer, he has to begin again the long rites that should occupy twelve hours, so he pays no attention to the visitors of an alien creed. But the boatmen and mendicants are not constrained by any such dogma and Nara rescues us with difficulty from the beseeching claques and insistent coolies and bundles us on board a flat-topped river barge, where we rest in steamer-chairs while our boatmen push outstream and row us slowly up and down a three-mile crescent of river front past the strangest human spectacle and most extraordinary manifestation of religious zeal and superstition in all this world.

Walling the steep cliff of the left bank rises an amphitheatre of temples, mosques and palaces, each with great ghats leading down into the turgid waters, filthy with sewage and putrid with pestilence. Thousands of worshippers are standing in the stream, men completely naked, some wearing a thin cord about one shoulder, which is the sacred thread, symbol of their high caste, married women with soaked garments and long dark hair clinging to their shoulders, and abject widows with shaven heads, all lifting up offerings of water toward the lightening East, tossing handfuls three times into the air, dipping their bodies beneath the bronze surface of the waters, sipping scoops of the holy liquid, lifting the fluid and letting it stream through their fingers, ecstatic in their confidence that they are purging their souls, though the Western mind is horrified by the thought of the germs of leprosy and cholera and the sewage that are contaminating their bodies; some with eyes transfixed, others with eyelids closed, some with upraised gaze, all repeating the while a wailing chant of the sacred mantras, the ancient Vedic hymns, the names of their gods and the sacred syllable "om," "om," over and over, all absorbed as if in hypnotic trance.

The ghats are cluttered with fanatics persecuting themselves with every conceivable form of self-torture to prove their holiness. Some clench their fists until sharp nails pierce the flesh and protrude through the backs of their hands; some pose immovable, month in, month out, under the drenching monsoon, the damp chill of the nights or the blistering blaze of the sun, with arms raised to heaven until the sinews have shrunk, the joints hardened and a permanent rigidity set in; others squat on sheets of spikes; all stare at the passing boats with crazed eyes. Some with grinning skulls, features eaten away by black leprosy, others in the last stages of cholera or with limbs twisted with paralysis or gaping with ulcerous sores, lie on the bottom ghats. All of these people are indifferent to death, for if they die here their souls are transported direct to heaven, and that is why every wealthy Hindu and every Maharajah in the whole of India has a temple on this bank.

The body of a young girl with forehead, hands and soles of her feet painted red, showing that she is blessed among women for her husband survives her, is being laid on the burning ghat, the native cremators, naked save for breech-cloths, pile heaps of sticks over the still limp body, and a sobbing little boy walks seven times around his mother's pyre, being pushed along by the mourning relatives. At last he is permitted to halt and forced to light the funeral pyre with a flaming torch. The relatives depart, one pulling along the screaming child. The paid ghouls prod the fire. When the flesh is consumed they will shovel the ashes into the river and then heap another pyre on the glowing coals. A mother commits the unburned body of her baby to the temper of the waters, for Hindus don't cremate infants, nor cattle, nor holy men: they are believed to be so hallowed that their uncharred bodies will not contaminate the sacred waters.

Some of the pious standing in the stream draw in deep breaths, closing first one nostril, then the other, then holding both nostrils with the fingers for uncounted seconds. No, they are not trying to shut out the stench of the diseased dying or the charred dead, or even of the reeking sewage. They are praying. Women pass down the steps to the river's edge and fill brass jars and jugs and carry them back up the stairs to pour over some chosen image or to bathe the rajas or the potentates in their palaces bordering the river.

A flood of gold slants brilliantly across the broad stream and the sun appears over the edge of the eastern horizon. A swell of invocation rises from all on shore and in the water, a rhythm of a minor, moaning litany that forever after reverberates on the eardrums of memory, while back of this fabulous tableau of emotional fervor the spires of the temples gleam crimson and gilt in the morning sun.

We drift on by a fantastic panorama of masses of palaces and shrines, with sculptured pillars and conical domes, each supporting clusters of spikes stained with sacred red ochre and tipped with gold, the central steeple rising above the lesser ones in an elongated, egg-shaped peak, the symbol of Siva. Two slender minarets shine dazzingly in the sun all of 250 feet above the stream, the sentinel spires of the mosque that the Moghul Aurangzeb built from the stones of the Hindu temples he destroyed. Honoring a hostile faith, the Moslem shrine is the most beautiful structure on this hallowed Hindu river.

We draw to the shore and alight to make our way through throngs of the maimed and the robust, the woeful and the rejoicing, gurus intoning the Vedic scriptures, holy men rapt in self-sadism, gay and laughing temple girls, sad and accursed widows and ash-smeared priests of whom 30,000 never have time to leave the river bank so busy are they greasing and sect-marking the ceaseless streams of pilgrims and buttering and garlanding the 50,000 idols of the 3,000 temples and shrines. We cut back from the embankment through deep, winding clefts of lanes between towering temples and recessed shops, where brazen gods gleaming in the shadows, bunches and garlands of jasmine and marigold flowers and counters of sweetmeats caked with flies, which we must not touch with our "unclean" and "defiling" hands, are proffered for sale to the devout who make such offerings to the various effigies.

We come upon a small but richly adorned shrine of Siva wedged into a corner of the street, a graven sacred bull, Nandi, the constant companion of Siva, reclining in stony dignity before the sanctuary; we pass idols of Ganesha, a squat fat figure with an elephant head, the son of Siva, the destroyer, and Kali, the terrible. It is believed that Ganesha's head was reduced to ashes the first time Kali set eyes on him, for, like Medusa, she had a destructive glance. So an elephant was decapitated and his head placed on the shoulders of Ganesha, and a bib tied around his elephant trunk. At the feet of his image is usually the figure of a rat, which is the *Vihana*, or "vehicle," of Ganesha. This god is a great favorite, being worshipped for good luck and invoked at the beginning of every Indian book as a bringer of success and as the god of learning.

We thread our way through labyrinths of narrow streets, all overhung by lofty houses and temples and niched with shrines. We reach the Golden Temple, dedicated to Siva, where the courts are thronged with the devout who jangle the bells, sprinkle grease and garland the images. Two of the Temple's three towers are covered with plates of copper that are coated with tarnished gold, hence the title of this dingy, dirty temple that is set in a maze of crowded streets.

Nearby stands the "Well of Knowledge," which the Hindus believe holds the lingam of Siva. The well is covered by a stone canopy and surrounded by a stone railing, against which eager and excited crowds constantly crush while chanting in wailing prayer. A little further along is the Temple of Sakhi Vinayak, the witnessing deity. Here pilgrims come for a certificate in proof that each has completed the obligatory Panch Kosi circuit of thirty-six and one-quarter miles around the sacred ground of Benares, a route which requires at least six days and sometimes longer, since the pious crawl the entire circumference.

To enumerate all the shrines we see would require a book. We decide to return to the hotel and pass en route a temple whose idol is supposed to be a destroyer who rides about on an invisible dog. The image of the animal must be offered confections made of sugar, while a Brahman waves a fan of peacock feathers over us to protect us from evil spirits and we in return must drop offerings into the cocoanut shell he holds. Passing a number of shrines to Hanuman, the monkey-god, we reach the Durga Temple, miscalled the Monkey Temple by Westerners because of the hosts of monkeys that inhabit the trees and infest the pavements. Durga is Kali in her most fearsome form, and bloody sacrifices of goats are offered to her each day, a repetition of the orgies we beheld near Calcutta, although not on such a wholesale scale. We flee the scene.

To-morrow the pageantry in all its barbarism, splendor and pathos will go on by the ancient ghats as it has for thousands of yesterdays, even as it will for thousands of to-morrows.

Essence of India, the Eternal City: Benares.

CHAPTER XI

MEDLEY OF MINORITIES

MARCH, 1930.

"The Mahatma will receive you now."

We enter. A small emaciated man, naked save for a loincloth, sits on a floor mat with his skeleton-like legs folded back beside his thighs, the soles turned uppermost, while his hands are busy with a small spinning-wheel. A Hindu secretary is seated on either side of him, reverently taking down every word that falls from his lips; a young woman kneels in adulation before him. The secretaries stare resentfully; the woman eyes us disapprovingly; the Mahatma smiles gently. Smiles are rarities in India. Graciously he waves us to a backless wooden bench and benignantly bids us keep our shoes on. Even our shoes seem rather startled.

We study the face of the most publicized man on earth. Two small dark eyes flash at one from above an enormous nose and a wide and almost toothless mouth: the eyes of a strategist; the nose of a dictator; the mouth of a monologist. Huge, pierced ears frame the brown face and one thread of hair, the shikha by which all Hindus are lifted up to heaven by their gods, protrudes from a close-clipped head.

"It is always delightful to talk to Americans," Mr. Gandhi begins. "Unfortunately I have little time just now, as I am preparing to march to the sea and break the salt laws of this satanic Government."

"We appreciate that there are many demands on your time, Mr. Gandhi. We shall be brief. I have just completed a circle of India and throughout the Provinces the marriage-drums dinned in my ears incessantly, by day and by night. Thousands of marriages are being perpetrated and some of the girl-brides are mere infants in arms. The approaching enactment of the Sarda Bill as a law must be indeed gratifying to you."*

"We need no such laws. Our law of love is the true answer, and this—the charka." He lovingly touches the spinning-wheel.

"But Mr. Gandhi, you yourself have condemned child-marriage, and certainly this law will put an end to the legalized abuse of girl-children and stop child motherhood!"

Mr. Gandhi's eyes glow, not with any spirituality or moral fervor, as I had fully expected, but with indignation and impatience; nevertheless his voice is precise and even as he replies: "It is a Government measure. Nothing good can come from the Government. Love is the law of Truth. Did you pass a woman leaving here?"

"Yes, one who was sobbing."

"She was sobbing for joy. I had forgiven her. She was attacked by two Mussulmans and resisted them, violently. Now she sees her sin and the glory of love."

"I have read in many of your writings, Mr. Gandhi, particularly in 'Young India,' that your philosophy and teaching of Satyagraha forbid a woman defending herself even from assault."†

"Quite true. Satyagraha demands absolute non-violence and that even a woman who is in danger of being violated must not defend herself with violence. Perfect purity is its own defense. The worst ruffian becomes tame in the presence of purity."

"Do you really believe that in practice, and not theory?"

"Certainly. So you see why I am not moved by the satanic Government's act."

"But, Mr. Gandhi, the Committee that recommended the bill, after being appointed to investigate the best remedies, consisted of ten members, all Indians, including the Chairman, except Mrs. Beadon, the Superintendent of Victoria Government Hospital in Madras!"

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*The act named for its introducer, Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, restrains the solemnization of child-marriages among Hindus by declaring such marriage invalid when the girl-bride is below the age of fourteen years. The law went into effect April 1, 1930.

†Quotations are too numerous to list. *Young India*, 1924–26, pages 861–862, is one instance where Mr. Gandhi uses the precise words he used in his reply to me.

"All of my people have not yet seen the light," Mr. Gandhi shakes his head sadly. "But they will," he brightens, "and now you will excuse me?"

We make our departure.

A month later Mr. Gandhi, in addressing the villagers of Aat, vehemently incites the people to break the salt laws, which impose a seven-cent (American money) per capita tax on the citizens of British India, and urges them to action far from non-violent:

> Resist the confiscation of salt from your grips with all your might till blood is spilt. All women and children should also resist. Let us see whether the police dare to touch our women. If they do, and if the sons and daughters of India are not so emasculated as to take such an insult lying down, the whole country will be ablaze. (New York *Times*, April 9, 1930.)

Mr. Gandhi

Who is this man whom asceticism has induced willingly to relinquish a life of ease and whom worldliness impelled determinedly to grasp a position of power, who lives like a monk and rules like a monarch? What is the character of this gentle apostle and what is the career of this militant politician, whose perceptions are as irrational as were John Brown's and whose policies are as astute as were Samuel Gompers'?

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born October 2, 1869, in Kathiawar, a peninsula on the extreme west of India which encompasses a number of small Native States of mostly Gujarati people.*

The Gandhis belong to the Bania caste, a subdivision of the Vaishya or third ranking caste, and appear to have been originally retail traders, but three generations of Mohandas Gandhi's direct ancestors were Dewans in several Kathiawar States. His father, although of no education save that of practical life, was Dewan of Probandar and later in Rajkot and was a pensioner of the last-named State when he died, leaving little property. His mother was a woman of deeply devout character.

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*Out of a total of 562 Native States in all India, no less than 286 are situated in Kathiawar and Gujarat proper. Necessarily they are small.

Mohandas attended government schools from the age of seven, always an uninterested and indifferent scholar. At eight he was betrothed and at thirteen he was married to an even younger child. At nineteen, after a year's attendance at Samaldas College at Bhavnagar, in Kathiawar, where he was a dismal failure, the Brahman counsellor of the Gandhis advised the mother and elder brother to send him to England to become a barrister, as that was the only way he could continue the succession as Dewan. His father had died and with him the opportunity of being Dewan, without proper education. Mohandas jumped at the proposal and was eager to be off at once, but his mother was sorely perplexed and it was only after taking the solemn vow that he would live a celibate life in England and never touch wine or meat that she gave him her blessing. Mohandas was exultant and was ready to leave his wife and surviving child at once, when his caste people raised a terrific objection. They insisted no one of his caste had ever defiled himself by crossing water and forbade his departure on threat of being out-caste. He was undisturbed; his caste men expelled him and he left for England. These things we know from his autobiography.*

In London Gandhi spent three years, where he was granted the privilege of attending London University, being made a bencher of the Inner Temple, the oldest of the four Inns of Court of England. Neither of these eminent institutions does he even mention in his entire chapter, "Life in London"; he describes in detail his experiences in obtaining vegetarian meals and his foibles and vanities of fashionable dress, and tells of a scheming landlady who "went on spreading her net wider every day" in her efforts to marry him to a young English girl (he had not had the courage to tell her he was already married): and only near the end does he state: "It was easy enough to be called to the Bar in England but it was difficult to practise. I had read law as my subject but I had not learnt to practise." After a few more personal memoirs, he closes: "I passed my Law Examinations and my stay in England drew to an end." This was in June, 1891. In all his numerous volumes I have never seen a single suggestion of gratitude for these honors.

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*"Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story," edited by his disciple C. F. Andrews, 1930. I quote frequently from this work and hereafter shall use only the word "Gandhi" when referring to it.

Gandhi returned to India to find his mother dead and his caste people cleaved in two clans, those who were willing to receive him and those who refused. After a stormy session, in which he took no part, his brother accompanied him to Nasik, where he bathed in the sacred river, was absolved of his sins and permitted to return to his caste. Taking up the practice of law, he proved such a complete failure that his brother was deeply chagrined and all his relatives displayed great displeasure. In despair he applied for a position as teacher of English at a salary of 75 rupees ($25.00) a month—and was not accepted.

His brother obtained employment in Rajkot for the disheartened lawyer and there he improved. Drafting applications and memorials brought him an average of 300 rupees a month. Following some trouble he got into with a British official, he had the good fortune, again through his brother's efforts, to be sent to Natal, South Africa, by a wealthy firm of Porbandar, who had engaged eminent British barristers to represent them in a large claim suit. The case was settled out of court soon after Gandhi arrived, but already he had made himself acquainted with the barristers as well as with a group of American missionaries, who tried to convert him.

Gandhi had no more than landed before he began a local agitation by insisting upon travelling first-class. The Boers and British alike were determined to keep South Africa a white man's country. Black and brown were therefore discriminated against, as were our negroes before the Civil War. Gandhi, however, was keenly aware that he was neither slave nor indentured laborer, but a British subject. He used his native wit and Western knowledge to win his point, as a subject of Great Britain. His victory was a never-to-be-forgotten example of the tremendous power that results from a working combination of obstinacy and rectitude. He decided to continue such examples in South Africa, and he did, for twenty years.

GANDHI IN AFRICA

The two decades that Gandhi spent in South Africa are little known to us, yet their story discloses the genesis of the Mahatma and his movements; it explains the transformation of an insignificant lawyer into a conspicuous labor leader, reverenced as a guru (master) by his fellow Indians in the colony and respected as a man of fairness, in spite of his annoying disturbances, by the Boer and English Colonials. His fame spread abroad to India and to England, and if Mr. Gandhi had continued in India as he left off in Africa, he would merit the title of an Indian Abraham Lincoln.

Let us glance at the conditions that assisted him in his climb to prominence.

The National Congress, which first met in Bombay in 1885, was the premeditated nucleus of Indian Parliament. It was founded by essentially moderate Indians, helped by British sympathizers, with the purpose of assisting Indian progress to self-government. The Congress grew rapidly in size and in strength of expression.*

There were three centres of Indian bitterness outside India: British Columbia; Natal and the Transvaal; Kenya and (to a small degree) Tanganyika. In 1895 the Congress prayed "that the British Government and the Government of India will come forward to guard the interests of these settlers in the same spirit in which they have always interfered, whenever the interest of their British-born subjects have been at stake." This was only four years before the outbreak of the Boer War and there is certainty that both governments heeded the appeal.

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*Mr. Edward Thompson, in his book, "Reconstructing India," pages 52–3, comments: "Up to 1907, the first phase of its career, the Congress remained friendly to Government. However severe its criticism, absolute trust in British sense of justice continued. Year after year it pressed for things that have nearly all now been conceded. . . . Taking its career as a whole, we may say that though never fully representative of India, the Congress has been representative of Hindu Political India. It does not represent 'the depressed classes' or the Christians, though it has Christian members and the Indian Christian community is no longer outside national excitements. It represents Moslems and Sikhs to a very limited extent. It is now solely extremist."

The following year the Congress protested against "the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between Indians and European settlers in South Africa." So Mr. Gandhi found a sympathetic ear for the constant complaints with which he deluged both the Congress and the British Government.

This same year (1896) Mr. Gandhi returned to India for a visit, where he published pamphlets deploring the conditions of the Indians in South Africa and "saw Mr. Cresney of *The Pioneer*.* He talked with me courteously, but told me frankly that his sympathies were with the colonials. He promised, however, that if I wrote anything he would read it and notice it in his paper."† After denunciatory lectures in Bombay, Poona and Madras, Gandhi's philippics were interrupted by a cable recalling him to Natal. His ship and another from India arrived off Durban simultaneously, with approximately 800 Indian passengers, to find that currents of agitation were running high and protests were vehement to the government against permitting such an "invasion" of émigrés to land, particularly Gandhi, whose tirades in India had been reported to Natal by Reuters via England with "distorted exaggeration." The populace was so inflamed that it insisted that the 800 should not be permitted to disembark, yet the Government of Natal could not authoritatively prevent British subjects landing in British territory. A temporary solution was found by quarantining the ships for twenty-three days, since, in all truth, bubonic plague had made its appearance that year in India. After this delay there were no rulings that could be utilized and the Indians went ashore. Gandhi, however, on advice of counsel, waited on board until the excited crowd dispersed;

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*One of the most important dailies in India, published in Allahabad.

†"Gandhi," page 127.

then, accompanied by an English barrister, he landed and started to walk to the home of a friend about three miles distant. Some young boys and hoodlums spotted his turban of particular type and began to throw stones. Gandhi's progress became a riot, and finally the mob separated him from Mr. Laughton, the barrister. Just as matters threatened to become really serious, the wife of the Superintendent of Police, Mrs. Alexander, came along in a rickshaw from the opposite direction. She immediately alighted and bravely insisted upon opening her sunshade and walking beside Gandhi. Naturally the mob desisted and soon, Mr. Laughton having gotten word to the Superintendent of Police Alexander, police surrounded Gandhi and escorted him to his friend's house, since he refused the protection of the Police Station. The mob followed and at length, at the urgence of Mr. Alexander, who was addressing the crowd, Gandhi escaped in the disguise of a trader.

Before he left the ship Gandhi had explained to a Durban reporter that the news dispatches had been exaggerated, that he had protested before he left Africa, as vehemently as he had in India, regarding the imposition of a $15 indenture, or poll tax, upon those Indians who remained in South Africa after their periods of indenture were completed, as well as other differentiations, and that the arrival of the Indian émigrés had not been planned by him.

> All this appeared in the newspapers the next day. Sensible people among the Europeans admitted their mistake. The newspapers expressed their sympathy with the standpoint of the Europeans in Natal, but at the same time fully defended my action. This enhanced my reputation as well as the prestige of the Indian Community. . . . The events in Natal had their repercussion in England. Mr. Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, cabled to the Government of Natal asking them to prosecute my assailants and to see that justice was done to me.*

But Gandhi refused to prosecute anyone and the government and the colonists deeply appreciated his generosity in thus releasing the Natal administration from a most awkward position.

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*"Gandhi," page 139.

When the Boer War broke out in 1899 the question as to what the Indians in South Africa should do immediately presented itself for solution. . . . We felt that this was a golden opportunity for us to prove that it was baseless [that the Indians were a deadweight on the community], but, on the other hand, the following considerations were also urged by some: "The British oppress us as much as the Boers do. If we are subjected to hardships in the Transvaal, we are not very much better off in Natal or the Cape Colony. The difference, if any, is only one of degree. Again, we are more or less a community of slaves. Knowing, as we do, that a small nation like the Boers is fighting for its very existence, why should we be instrumental in their destruction? Finally, from a practical point of view, no one will take it upon himself to predict a defeat for the Boers. And if they win, they will never fail to wreak vengeance upon us."*

But Mr. Gandhi replied:

However, it did not commend itself to me, and I refuted it to myself and to the community as follows:

Our existence in South Africa is only in our capacity as British subjects. In every memorial we have presented, we have asserted our rights as such. We have been proud of our British citizenship, or have given our rulers and the world to believe that we are so proud. Our rulers profess to safeguard our rights because we are British subjects, and what little rights we still retain, we retain because we are British subjects. It would be unbecoming to our dignity as a nation to look on with folded hands at a time when ruin stared the British in the face as well as ourselves, simply because they ill-treat us here. And such criminal inaction could only aggravate our difficulties. If we missed this opportunity, which has come to us unsought, of proving the falsity of a charge which we believe to be false, we should stand self-condemned, and it would be no matter for surprise if then the English treated us worse than before and sneered at us more than ever. The fault in such a case would lie entirely at our door. To say that the charges preferred against ourselves had no foundation in fact and were absolutely untenable, would only be to deceive ourselves. It is true, we might argue, that we are helots continuing the while to remain in the Empire. That has been the policy of all our leaders in India and ours also. And if we desire to win our freedom and achieve our welfare as members of the British Empire, here is a golden opportunity for us to

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*"Gandhi," page 142.

> do so by helping the British in the war by all the means at our disposal. It must largely be conceded that justice is on the side of the Boers, but every single subject of a State must not hope to enforce his private opinion in all cases. The authorities may not always be right, but so long as the subjects owe allegiance to a State, it is their clear duty generally to accommodate themselves, and to accord their support, to acts of the State.*

Eventually Gandhi formed an Indian Ambulance Corps.

> The knowledge that the Indians, forgetful of their wrongs, were out to help them [the British] in the hour of their need, had melted their hearts for the time being. Our work was mentioned by General Butler in his dispatches. War medals, too, were conferred on the thirty-seven leaders.†

After the Boer War Gandhi moved to Johannesburg, where he engaged in a lucrative legal practice and operated a weekly, *Indian Opinion*, in which he

> poured out my soul in its columns, and expounded the principles and practice of Satyagraha [passive resistance]. . . . It made me understand thoroughly the responsibility of a journalist, and the hold I secured through it over the community made the future campaign workable, dignified and irresistible.‡

Then the pneumonic plague, more virulent and fatal than the bubonic, broke out in one of the gold mines, near Johannesburg, which were worked mostly by negroes. A few Indians were employed there and when twenty-three of them suddenly were stricken, Gandhi immediately volunteered as nurse and enlisted others as aides, thus increasing the reverence of the Indians and the respect of the Europeans.

In 1904 Gandhi started the Phœnix Settlement and moved his paper and its staff as well as his family to this new colony which had been inspired by Ruskin's "Unto This Last." It can be seen how absolutely alienated Gandhi's ideas were from the Hindu creeds of caste. After heading an Indian Ambulance Corps during the brief Zulu Rebellion, he founded a colony, near Johannesburg, somewhat similar to the Phœnix Settlement, which he called Tolstoy Farm. His deep admiration for the great Russian stimulated him to undertake there the education of some young Indian lads, on Tolstoyan lines.

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*"Gandhi," pages 143–4. †"Gandhi," pages 147–8. ‡"Gandhi," pages 153–4.

Gandhi's fanatical ideas seemed to have been confined at this period largely to the subject of diet and an abhorrence of medicines to the extent that he removed Mrs. Gandhi from a hospital while she was in a critical condition following a dangerous operation because she was being given beef tea.* His actions were radical, but certainly not irrational in any other respect.

In 1912 G. K. Gokhale, President of the Congress and a friend of Lord Morley, visited South Africa. In these last few years before his death, this greatest of Indian National leaders turned his interests more to social reform than to political advancement of his people. He made this journey with the purpose of causing the removal of the indenture tax and returned to India, after conferring with General Smuts, with the belief that the poll tax would be removed in one year and that the necessary legislation would be introduced in the ensuing session of the Union Parliament.

But when the Legislature convened, according to Gandhi's version,

> General Smuts from his seat in the House of Assembly said that as the Europeans in Natal objected to the repeal of the tax, the Union Government were unable to pass legislation directing its removal, which, however, was not the case. The members from Natal by themselves could do nothing in a body upon which the four colonies were represented. Again General Smuts ought to have brought forward the necessary bill in the Assembly on behalf of the Cabinet and then left the measure to its fate. But he did nothing of the kind, and provided us with the welcome opportunity of including this despicable impost as a cause of "war."†

Gandhi admits that thus far those affected by the poll tax had raised no objection, but he felt this was another "golden

*"Gandhi," pages 175 *et seq.*

†"Gandhi," page 192.

opportunity" to spread their prestige and his doctrine of Satyagraha. He was not at all certain if he could count on their co-operation, in fact in a letter to Gokhale he could list only sixty-five names at the highest and sixteen at the lowest, of whom he felt assured. But his estimates proved conservative and he enlisted many more, as well as a number of Indian women, all of whom decided to be arrested and go to jail as vigorous protestors. But the women had difficulty in being arrested. "They took to hawking without a license, but still the police ignored them. It now became a problem with the women how they should get arrested."*

The step he had reserved until the last was finally undertaken, and that was to enter the Transvaal from Natal without a permit. The authorities ignored even this offense. Finally they proceeded to Newcastle, the great coal-mining centre, where they picketed and incited the miners to strike. They stirred up so much strife that the police were finally compelled to take them into custody. Increasing numbers of Indians courted imprisonment and the laborers were so moved by their arguments and their willingness to be jailed, that the whole Union of South Africa was crippled and the jails were embarrassingly full. Finally the government was compelled to prevent further strikes by working the mines under surveillance of mounted military police.

Gokhale sent two Englishmen, C. F. Andrews, who is today an apostle of Gandhi and the editor of the book which I have quoted so frequently in this chapter, and W. W. Pearson, to Gandhi's assistance. Gandhi, who was free on bail, met them at Durban and together the three addressed a letter to General Smuts on December 21, 1913, insisting that they intended to boycott the Commission which had been appointed to investigate the complaints of the Indians.

> When Gokhale heard that a fresh march was under contemplation he sent a long cablegram, saying that such a step on our part would land Lord Hardinge [the sympathetic Viceroy of India] and himself

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*"Gandhi," page 197.

in an awkward position, and strongly advising us to give up the march and assist the Commission by tendering evidence before it.* [Andrews urged] "consideration of Gokhale's delicate health and the shock which our decision was calculated to impart to him," [but even at such a risk and that of alienating the] "priceless aid" [of Lord Hardinge, Gandhi insisted a pledge had been made and must therefore be carried out.]

This cable, when it reached Gokhale, had a bad effect upon his health, but he continued to help us with unabated or even greater zeal than before. He wired to Lord Hardinge on the matter. Not only did he refuse to throw us overboard, but on the contrary he defended our own standpoint. Lord Hardinge too remained unmovable in our support.

I went to Pretoria with Andrews. Just at this time there was a great strike of the European employees of the Union railways, which made the position of the Government extremely delicate. I was invited to commence the Indian march at such a fortunate juncture, and thus assist the railway strikers, and win on our own terms. But, in answer to this, I declared that the Indians could not thus assist the railway strikers, as they were not out to harass the Government, their struggle being entirely different and differently conceived. Even if we undertook the march, we would begin it at some other time when the railway struggle had ended. This decision of ours created a deep impression, and was cabled to England by Reuter. Lord Ampthill cabled his congratulations from England. English friends in South Africa too appreciated our decision. One of the secretaries of General Smuts jocularly said: "I do not like your people, and do not care to assist them at all. But what am I to do? You help us in our days of need. How can we lay hands upon you? I often wish you took to violence like the English strikers, and then we would know at once how to dispose of you. But you will not injure even the enemy. You desire victory by self-suffering alone, and never transgress your self-imposed limits of courtesy and chivalry. And that is what reduces us to sheer helplessness." General Smuts also gave expression to similar sentiments.†

Twelve hundred Indians returned to work and later rejoined Gandhi's Satyagraha campaign, after the railway agitation was over. In the meantime, however, the railway strike proved so serious that the Union Government declared martial law, "for the workmen not only demanded their wages but aimed at seizing the reins of the government in their own hands."* Gandhi knew that his Satyagraha movement would be received by successful revolutionists quite differently than by the British Government, so he went to call on General Smuts in regard to a settlement of difficulties. At first Smuts refused to see him but finally they "reached a provisional agreement and Satyagraha was suspended for the last time. Many English friends were glad of this, and promised their assistance in the final settlement. It was rather difficult to get the Indians to agree to endorse this agreement."*

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*"Gandhi," page 225.

†*Ibid.*, pages 226–227.

Mr. Thompson is interestingly informative on this situation from another angle:

> The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, did a thing both indiscreet and "incorrect." The Head of one Government inside the Empire, he openly criticized another Government, and at Madras protested publicly against the South African Administration. This protest was resented in South Africa; but, Sir Valentine Chirol observes:† "combined with earnest representations from Whitehall it" [and it needed a deal of compulsion] "compelled General Smuts to enter once more the path of conciliation and compromise."† In 1915, the Indian Government marked its sense of Mr. Gandhi's services by the award of the Kaisar-i-Hind gold medal—later, after Jallianwalabagh, returned by him. Lord Hardinge's protest, however unconventional, won great gratitude in India. . . .
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> No historian can afford to overlook the South African question, which exacerbated Indian opinion so bitterly in the pre-war period. The biographer of Mr. Gandhi must note the effect of those long years of opposition, of endurance of insult until every scrap of care for personal ease was shredded away and the spirit enclosed in mail of complete indifference, having proved that in weakness is power and that the disunited can be united. Indian Nationalism grew to its strength in Africa. To many of us it is a matter of sorrow and perplexity, when we consider the striking figure General Smuts presents to the outside world as an idealist, to recall the part he played in this struggle.‡

When a compromise was finally reached, Gandhi sailed for England to join Gokhale, but war was declared two days before Gandhi arrived at Southampton and Gokhale got no farther than Paris. Gandhi started to organize an Indian Ambulance Corps, but due to an attack of pleurisy, was obliged to return to a warmer climate, so he sailed for India in December, 1914, where he remained until September, 1931, when he departed for the London Conference.

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*Both quotations from "Gandhi," pages 228–229.

†"India Old and New," by Sir Valentine Chirol, page 168.

‡"Reconstructing India," by Edward Thompson, page 73.

GANDHI IN INDIA

Gandhi's co-operation with the British Government came to an end during the last period of the World War. While the ensuing years were to elevate him to a spiritual prestige more dominant than that exercised by any Messiah of any creed during his lifetime and to a political power comparable to that wielded only by Lenin, the entire epoch has been interspersed with tragic unhappiness for himself as well as the Government because of his admittedly "Himalayan miscalculation" that the people were "ready" for a civil disobedience insurgency concentric with non-violence.

A skilled manipulator of public opinion and a superb judge of mankind, he could control the convulsions of emotional excitement of a few thousand people and, as long as his legions were within the compass of his tangible reins, he was adequately ambidextrous to impel them to concurrently tear down law and hold up order. But to incite an army of a varying minority of 300,000,000 illiterates* to a passion for revolution and to expect the flood of their fury to halt short the moment the bulwark of government is smashed, is to refuse to recognize all the laws of physical and emotional momentum known to this universe. That his Indian campaigns have invariably led to violence he has always regretted—but never remedied.

When Gandhi arrived in Bombay a message awaited him from Gokhale, who instructed him to call upon the Governor of the Presidency, who was Lord Willingdon, the recently ap-

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*My broad figure of "300,000,000" is not meant to imply that even the remaining 20,000,000 people, who are either partially or plenteously educated, are free from emotional mutability and religious frenzy. Those who have, through Western impacts, fallen off in religious practice and those who even no longer hold their old beliefs, are unchanged in religious *disposition,* which is the very bedrock of Eastern character.

pointed Viceroy of India. According to Gandhi's account, His Excellency said:

> I ask one thing of you. I would like you to come and see me whenever you propose to take any steps concerning Government.*

Gandhi promised and "Lord Willingdon thanked me and said: 'You may come to me whenever you like, and you will see that my Government does not wilfully do anything wrong.'" Gandhi replied: "It is that faith which sustains me."* However, Gandhi was soon to centre his faith in his own self-righteousness.

Now Gokhale had been sorely troubled by Gandhi's manifest loss of judgement and increasing love of power, so he imposed upon Gandhi a vow of silence concerning politics for two years. Gandhi kept the letter of the promise but made dramatic use of that probationary period by travelling third class and publicizing himself as the savior of the masses.

Gokhale died in 1915 and with him the pace of progress in Congress, for he was succeeded as President by B. G. Tilak, whom Sir Valentine Chirol succinctly described as "the father of Indian unrest." Tilak was no advocate of either autonomy or social reform. He extolled undiluted Hinduism in its worst forms, tried to invest Brahman† rule as in the days of old, and encouraged the cult of the elephant-headed god Ganesha, the son of Siva and of Kali. He heaped abuse on the counsels of Gokhale and made "an invaluable contribution to the technique of nationalism by proving that political invective" was remunerative in result.‡ He was an exponent of violence and the antagonist of even elementary advance. We shall hear more of him later.

Gandhi took a significant step this same year when he went to the Kumbh Festival at Benares, on which occasion Hindus make a special pilgrimage to bathe in the Ganges. He returned to wearing the shikha, or tuft of hair on the top of the head by which Hindu gods lift all good Hindus to heaven. "On the eve of my going to England I got rid of the shikha lest when I was bareheaded it should expose me to ridicule."* The return of the shikha was an outward symbol of inward reversions, but these were not yet apparent, for Gandhi was to accomplish one more laudable reform in early 1917, his first operation after the expiration of his vow of silence, when he went to Champaran, just south of the Himalayas in close proximity to Nepal, in the Province of Bihar.

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*Both quotations from "Gandhi," page 234.

†Tilak was a Brahman.

‡"An Indian Commentary," by G. T. Garratt, page 128.

Now Champaran was known to Gandhi neither by name nor geographical position, and Champaran knew nothing of him and little of Government, so shut off was this section from the byways of travel. But a man told Gandhi that in this isolated sector the tenant was bound by local levy to plant three out of every twenty parts of his land with indigo for his landlord. This exaction was known as the "tinkathia system." Gandhi felt this oppression might offer him an impressive inaugural act for his return to active politics, so he set out immediately for that part of India and began to investigate conditions and to listen to grievances, with the aid of interpreters. The Secretary of the Planters' Association protested Gandhi was an outsider and an agitator and told him to leave. When Gandhi refused, the Association had him served with notice and later arrested as a persistent disturber of the peace. Gandhi

> wired full details to the Viceroy, to Patna friends, and also to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya [the Brahman leader of orthodox Hinduism] and others. His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Edward Gait) ordered the case against me to be withdrawn, and the Collector wrote to me saying that I was at liberty to conduct the proposed inquiry, and that I might count on whatever help I needed from the officials. . . . The country thus had its first direct object lesson in Civil Disobedience. The affair was freely discussed both locally and in the press, and my inquiry got unexpected publicity. . . . I wrote to the editors of the principal papers requesting them not to trouble to send any reporters, as I should send them whatever might be necessary for publication and keep them informed.†

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*"Gandhi," page 244.

†*Ibid.*, pages 262–3.

Gandhi kept up a prolonged questioning, plainly proud that the peasants made him show "darshan," a Hindu practice for obtaining the sight of a saint. As he took so long, in spite of full rein and numerous assistants,

> Sir Edward Gait asked me to see him, expressed his willingness to appoint an enquiry and invited me to be a member of the Committee. [Gandhi reluctantly consented] on condition that I should be free to confer with my co-workers . . . and advise the raiyats [peasants] as to what line of action they should take.

Sir Edward Gait accepted this condition* and announced the inquiry. The Committee found in favor of the raiyats, and recommended that the planters should refund a portion of the exactions they had made, which the Committee had found unlawful, and that the tinkathia system should be abolished by law.

> Sir Edward Gait had a large share in getting the Committee to make a unanimous report, and also in getting the Agrarian Bill passed in accordance with the Committee's recommendations. Had he not adopted a firm attitude, and had he not brought all his tact to bear on the subject, the report would not have been unanimous, and the Agrarian Act would not have been passed. . . . The Tinkathia system, which had been in existence for about a century, was thus abolished, and with it the "Planters' Raj" [rule] came to an end in Champaran.†

Having admittedly secured the reform only because of the full co-operation and firm insistence of the Government, Gandhi still lingered on and, taking advantage of the administration's friendliness, induced the people to request tax suspension and later persuaded some of them to sign a manifesto that

> requested the Government to suspend the collection of revenue assessment till the ensuing year, but the Government has not acceded

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*As Mr. W. H. Roberts, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Redland and distinguished scholar of Indian affairs, comments on this co-operation and conditional response, in his article on Gandhi in the June, 1930, issue of *Current History:* "It is not often that a private citizen can dictate such terms to an almost all-powerful government. The entire episode is highly significant both for the understanding of Gandhi's personality and for a correct appreciation of the government's attitude toward him."

†"Gandhi," pages 274–5.

> to our prayer. Therefore, we, the undersigned, hereby solemnly declare that we shall not, of our own accord, pay to the Government the full or the remaining revenue for the year.

But though Gandhi had been able to induce them to break the law, they refused to continue to carry out the threat.

> The campaign came to an unexpected end. It was clear that the people were exhausted and I hesitated to let the unbending be driven to utter ruin. I was casting about for some graceful way of terminating the struggle which would be acceptable to Satyagrahi. Such a one came quite unexpectedly. News came to me that if the well-to-do farmers paid up, the poorer ones would be granted suspension.*

It may be supposed that the Government, which had gladly assisted in a reform of conditions unknown to them, in a far-away corner of India,† breathed a sigh of relief when Mr. Gandhi departed. But if they did, it was premature.

Flushed with success, Mr. Gandhi decided it was opportune to introduce his polemic programme into a conspicuous arena and began the Khaira campaign. He resolved that:

> The main thing was to rid the agriculturists of their fear by making them realize that the officers were not masters but the servants of the people, in as much as they received their salaries from the taxpayer.‡

Now picture a country of over 300,000,000 of ignorant, superstitious and fanatically passionate§ people, whose history is one of religious and political bloodshed, whose taxes were collected by less than 2,000 white men, listening to such a doctrine! With all the inborn horror of a full-blooded Southerner for the terrors of Reconstruction days in the South after the Civil War, I cannot but recognize that the multiplied terrors and threats to the British inhabitants, because of Gandhi's exhortations, were even more perilous. In addition, Great Britain was still in the throes of a critical World War.

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*"Gandhi," page 277.

†Bihar had only recently been separated from Bengal for the very reason that geographical division had made it impossible for isolated sections, of which Champaran was only one, to be properly administered. The Partition, at British insistence, had caused assassination and almost revolution. Yet here is adequate proof that the British were correct. These are the reasons that Sir Edward Gait had not had knowledge of the tinkathia system.

‡"Gandhi," page 279.

§In using the broad figure "300,000,000" may I again point out that I do not intend to infer that 20,000,000 are sufficiently educated to be unsuperstitious and sagacious.

Yet what did the Government do? Let Mr. Gandhi state his case:

> In the initial stages, though the people [Indian] exhibited much courage [in refusing to pay taxes] the Government did not seem to be inclined to take strong action. But as the people seemed not to waver in their firmness, the Government began coercion. The attachment officers sold peoples' cattle and seized whatever movables they could lay hands on. Penalty notices were served, and in some cases standing crops were attached. This unnerved the peasants, some of whom paid their dues while others desired to place safe movables in the way of the officials so that they might attach them to realize dues. On the other hand, some were prepared to fight to the bitter end.
>
> While these things were going on, one of Sjt. Shankarlah Parikh's tenants paid up the assessment in respect of his land. This created a sensation. Sjt. Shankarlah Parikh immediately made amends for his tenant's mistake by giving away for charitable purposes the land for which the assessment had been paid. He thus saved his honor and set a good example to others.
>
> With a view to steeling the hearts of those who were frightened, I advised the people, under the leadership of Sjt. Mohanlal Pandya, to remove a crop of onions from a field which had been, in my opinion, wrongly attached. I suggested that the attachment of standing crops, though it might be in accordance with law, was morally wrong, and was nothing short of looting, and that therefore it was the people's duty to remove the onions in spite of the order of attachment. This was a good opportunity for the people to learn a lesson in courting fines or imprisonment.*

This is the sole excuse that Mr. Gandhi gives for instigating the people to rebellion against law and order. He does not claim over-taxation or oppressive collection. The most critical peril of his campaign was that he was striking at the very roots of the people's respect for any form of government; for temporal power in India, from the very earliest times, has carried with it overlordship of the soil. Not a single indigenous, much less foreign sovereignty, has ever surrendered the right to share in the produce of every acre of land under crop. To millions of people the land levy has been the only tax of which they were conscious, the only recognition of responsibility to administration and the only expression of fealty to authority.

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*"Gandhi," pages 279–280.

Perhaps it is needless to point out that Mr. Gandhi's laudatory account, which I shall continue to quote, varies materially from the reports of others less self-interested, both Indian and English. But let us hear his side of the story.

> It was impossible for the Government to leave them [the leaders] free. The arrests of Mohanlal and his companions [the ones whom Mr. Gandhi had persuaded to remove the crop attached for non-payment of taxes] added to the people's enthusiasm. When the fear of jail disappears, repression puts heart in the people. . . . Pandya and his companions were convicted and sentenced to a brief term of imprisonment. . . . A procession escorted the "convicts" to jail, and on that day Sjt. Mohanlal Pandya earned from the people the honored title of "dungli chor" [onion thief], which he enjoys to this day.*

Gandhi continues in the next paragraph:

> The Deadly War in Europe was still going on. A crisis had arrived, and the Viceroy had invited leaders to a War Conference in Delhi. . . . In response to the invitation I went to Delhi. I had, however, objections to taking part in the Conference, the principal one being the exclusion from it of leaders like the Ali brothers. They were then in jail. . . [Gandhi thinks this another "golden opportunity" to spread his doctrines and ally the Moslems.] I opened correspondence with the Government for the release of the brothers. In that connection I studied the brothers' views and activities about the Khilafat. I had discussion with my Muslim friends and felt that if I would become a true friend of the Muslims I must render all possible help in securing the release of the brothers and a just settlement of the Khilafat question. It was not for me to enter into the absolute merits of the case provided there was nothing immoral in their demands.†

But others are concerned with the "absolute merits of the case" which eventually brought about the slaughter of thousands of Hindus and Moslems in communal cleavages, as well as the execution of insurgents and assassins, and we must necessarily look outside Mr. Gandhi's autobiography for enlightenment.

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*"Gandhi," pages 280–281.

†*Ibid.*, pages 282–83.

The Khilafat Movement was the insistence of Indian Moslems that Great Britain not only cease fighting her enemy, Turkey, but that she even *protect* the strength and prestige of this Power, whose sovereign was regarded as the religious dictator of Islam. As Mr. Thompson points out:

> Indian Mohammedans have always been troubled about the fate of their co-religionists outside India. It is not the distress that has fitfully stabbed at the conscience of Christendom, when Armenians or Lebanese have been massacred. It is resentment that the once extensive secular authority of Islam has suffered circumscription and bondage. The Turks have never vexed themselves about the Mohammedans of India except to the extent of accepting donations from them. But the Mohammedans of India have vexed themselves a great deal on the Turks' behalf. There can be no doubt that the loss of their titular Empire, when it went down in the storm of 1857, has caused more regret than is imagined.
>
> To the soldiers at the front this clash of loyalties was a strain.* The Turks set in their front lines Mullahs† whose voices rang out across the narrow No Man's Land at Sannaiyat, and elsewhere, reproaching the Mohammedans opposite.‡

We can appreciate the forbearance of the Viceroy, when his reply to Gandhi's preposterous urgence that the Indian Government release the Ali rebels, so that they might be free to continue their insurrection against the hard-pressed British, was:

> If you agree that the Empire has been on the whole a power for good; if you believe that India has on the whole benefited by the British connection, would you not admit that it is the duty of every Indian citizen to help the Empire in the hour of its need? . . . You

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*More than half of the Indian troops that enlisted in the British Army were from the Punjab, a Province more than half Moslem. To-day the Punjab furnishes 62 per cent of the standing Indian Army.

†Mohammedans learned in theology and sacred law. There are no priests in the Moslem Church, though "Mullahs" correspond to our usage of the word "priests."

‡"Reconstructing India," by Edward Thompson, pages 123–4.

> may raise whatever moral issues you like and challenge us as much as you please after the conclusion of the War, not to-day.*

Gandhi decided to postpone his "golden opportunity" to assist the Moslems, since the "Viceroy was very keen on my supporting the resolution about recruiting." We find out why Gandhi went over to the Viceroy's plan, when we read:

> I used to issue leaflets asking people to enlist as recruits. One of the arguments I had used was distasteful to the Commissioner: "Among the many misdeeds," I wrote, "of the British rule in India, history will look upon the Act depriving a whole nation of arms as the blackest. If we want the Arms Act to be repealed, if we want to learn the use of arms, here is a golden opportunity. If the middle classes render voluntary help to Government in the hour of its trial, distrust will disappear, and the ban on possessing arms will be withdrawn.†

It should be added that this exponent of non-violence was not protesting against a law of discrimination in favor of the comparative handful of white people, for even to-day no one is permitted to own firearms except those in the army, which consists of 60,000 British and 187,000 Indians, and in the police service, which is composed of 600 European officers and nearly 800 European police sergeants out of a total of approximately 187,000."‡ On January 26, 1931, following his release from Poona, Mr. Gandhi continued his demands for the arming of the Indians. He has never ceased to mingle these demands with his preachings of non-violence since this decidedly peculiar, to say the least, campaign for recruits.

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*"Gandhi," page 285.

†*Ibid.*, page 288. If any one can emerge from Mr. Gandhi's book without being convinced that the British in India have the most superb patience and the sublimest sense of humor of any people on earth, let him examine his own esprit. The naïve righteousness of this man can be fully appreciated only by reading the entire autobiography. And in case you don't think the quality of the British is humor, then glance at Mr. Thompson's whimsical reference to the deplorable bombing of the Viceroy's train outside Delhi, in December, 1929, when Lord and Lady Irwin were enroute to a conference with Mr. Gandhi and other leaders, before the annual meeting of the Congress: "The Congress proceeded to give demonstration of its devotion to elementary decency and sense of fairness and 'sportsmanship' by dealing with a resolution condemning the attempt to destroy the Viceroy when coming to a friendly conference with its leader. The resolution is supposed to have been passed by 935 votes to 897. It is doubtful if it was passed at all. It required an hour and a half's discussion, amid cries of dissent and the waving of red flags. Let us be sure that Lord Irwin's sense of humor will value the knowledge that 935 of the Congress gentlemen think it a pity he was nearly blown to bits, while 897 think otherwise. He is a poor man, the Viceroy of India to-day, and must be grateful to receive even such a wavering and disputed assurance that the Congress 'congratulates the Viceroy and Lady Irwin and their party, including the poor servants, on their fortunate narrow escape.'" ("Reconstructing India," pages 190–1.) Many an Indian is carrying his head on his shoulders to-day because the British can manage to laugh!

‡Indian Statutory Report, vol. 1, page 272.

In his autobiography Mr. Gandhi now becomes enrapt in setting forth, in detail, puerile discussions concerning the moral issues confronting him in the relative virtues of goat and cow milk, and in giving particularized accounts of functions of his body which are necessary for hospital charts but decidedly unsuitable for autobiographies.

Mr. Gandhi entered the colosseum of the National Congress for the first time immediately following the World War. We must survey the movements in the amphitheatre of Indian politics in order to perceive the pace of Indian nationalism.

The Major Minority

The number of Indians who understand the process of polity and who are endeavoring to have a voice in determining the form of government, whether that of Dominion status or sovereign independence, are an appalling minority of the Indian peoples.

This small minority, who have definite opinions or definite desires in regard to government, are divided into numerous groups or parties, each with its own set of proposed remedies. No party controls a majority of even the combined groups, and only one man can be said to control a major membership, *not* of the Indian population but of the various minority groups of Indians, and that man is Mr. Gandhi.

It is the misapprehension of many that Mr. Gandhi is a leader of the majority of the populace. Millions of Indians have seen him only while making darshan, while there are many more millions who either do not respond to his teachings or have never seen him or heard of him! This state of affairs, indubitably, is credible only to those who realize the colossal size of the country, the colossal number of the people and the colossal primitiveness of myriads. But the truth is, as Mr. Ranga Iyer states it:

> Gandhi says—and thousands of his followers most sincerely feel likewise—that British rule in India endures not because of the "steel frame" of the European services, but because of the Indian co-operation. Gandhi is right, Indians want British rule, and that is why India has British rule. If three hundred millions of people decided not to have the rule of a handful of aliens the decision must hold.*

Certainly no one can think that Mr. Gandhi desires British rule!

Politically, Gandhi is an opportunist who may be depended upon to seize the centre of the stage. Socially, he is a Hindu spiritual leader who has captured the citadel of the people's hearts as a saint—not as a politician. He sways masses who know nothing of politics or of government or even of Swaraj. He trails this whole multitude of people, who move in a body as their Mahatma dictates, as a "big stick" into Indian political conferences, where the wrangles make our Senate seem like a tryst of lovers, and once there, he plays, usually, a lone hand, with vacillating lieutenants.

Those Indian leaders who have a constructive sense, or even a clever destructive sense, are keenly aware that they have no great mobilized legion behind them. Although such men as Tagore, who terms Gandhi "a mediæval reactionary," and the late C. R. Das, the brilliant Bengal lawyer who gave up a lucrative legal practice in Calcutta with as flaming a patriotism and as fervent a self-sacrifice as Mr. Gandhi's, to devote his life to the Nationalist movement, are forced to "sink their convictions before the mob mentality of the Mahatma" or else "strengthen the stranger within the gate."†

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*Ranga Iyer; "India, Peace or War?" pages 193–4.

†*Ibid.*, page 99. Mr. Ranga Iyer was always an ardent adherent of Das, whom he describes as "a man of heroic mould" and "a born fighter, imbued with an Englishman's spirit of freedom; he was in that sense Anglicized to the core. Add the bulldog will of an Englishman to the Celtic emotionalism of the Bengalee, and you get an idea of the late C. R. Das. He was, without exaggeration, a combination of all that was best in Arthur Griffith, Lord Fisher, and Lord Haldane, in one word, a philosopher-statesman-of-action." (Page 38.) Mr. Thompson also speaks highly of the abilities of Das, who strove as strenuously as Gandhi to paralyze the Indian Legislature and the British administration by persistent obstruction, but by quite different methods. We shall learn more of Das.

We must study the major movements of this major minority in order to understand the main currents of the critical years and critical events in India following the World War and the enactments of the Montague-Chelmsford Recommendations, which extended and increased, as promised by the Morley-Minto Reforms, the transference of power and patronage from British to Indian hands, granted a limited franchise and deposited legislative power in two mainly elected chambers, the Legislature and the Assembly, which compose the Indian Parliament.

In August, 1917, the Secretary of State for India, Edwin S. Montague, and the Viceroy of India, the Viscount Chelmsford, in accordance with the periodical study of Indian affairs by investigating bodies to determine the progress of Indian capacity for participation in the administration, were "charged with the duty of devising substantial steps in the direction of the gradual development of self-governing institutions."*

Immediately following the Armistice,

> The Indian National Congress in December, 1918, insisted on the immediate grant of provincial autonomy and inserted, in a resolution relating to the dispatch of a deputation to England to appear before the Parliamentary Joint Committee and interview men of consequence in England, a clause binding the delegation to confine negotiations in England strictly to the letter of the resolution passed at Delhi. This restriction of the scope of the activities of the delegates was resented by the Moderates as intolerable interference with the discretion of the plenipotentiaries, who, they maintained, must have a fairly wide charter for negotiation. The Nationalists suspected the Moderates and their passion for compromise. The extremer section attacked their bona fides. The breach in the Congress ranks became inevitable. Mrs. Besant brought into existence the National Home Rule League, pro-

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*Concerning the events which ensued I shall quote copiously from Mr. Ranga Iyer's "India, Peace or War?" and Mr. Edward Thompson's "Reconstructing India," volumes conceded to be the works of men broad in judgment and deep in knowledge. These qualities are shared by Mr. Ranga Iyer, a Hindu Nationalist member of the Indian Legislature who has been active for years in endeavoring to secure autonomy for India, and by Mr. Thompson, Educational Missionary at Bankura College, Bengal, from 1910–1922, a keen scholar of Indian affairs, and now a Lecturer at Oxford. These gentlemen approach the problems of India with equal sincerity of analysis, but often with divergence of conclusion. Both have lived goodly portions of their lives in England and in India. They know each other's country; they know each other's people.

fessing views less radical than those which had been approved by the Delhi Congress. The Moderates who seceded from the Congress regrouped themselves under a new banner called the National Liberal Federation.

With the defection of Mrs. Besant and her followers and Sir Surendranath Bannerjee and his Moderate associates, one might have expected the Congress to become weaker. But the Congressmen carried on an aggressive campaign and identified themselves on tactical grounds with the large body of Mussulmans, who had been extremely sensitive about Turkey's future. If Turkey suffered—in other words, was made to pay for her part in the last War—the Indian Muslim said that the emasculation of the Caliph and the weakening of Islam as a world force were aimed at. . . . [Also] There was a real danger of economic discontent becoming a handmaid of political propagandism, because of the monsoon, added to the sufferings of the middle and lower classes. The Government was held responsible for their woes.*

The Indians at large didn't understand the politics involved in these sudden surgings together and sudden cleavings apart of various leaders who trailed parties as personal appendages with as frequent changes of partners as in a Virginia Reel, but they echoed Mr. Gandhi's demands for arms and understood Mr. Tilak's (President of the Congress) shoutings concerning

such important matters as Cow Protection and the booming of the worship of Ganesh, the elephant-headed God. . . . He did not consider Mohammedans were people who ought to be encouraged and he vigorously preached the cult of Sivaji, the Seventeenth Century Mahratta† Chieftain who fought the Moghuls and murdered at an interview Afzal Khan, the Moslem general. He is not unfairly described by Mr. Garratt:‡ "He discovered what invaluable material lay in the college students. He was a born journalist, and organized what can only be described as 'stunts' with much the same genius and success as Lord Northcliffe in his war-time propaganda. Tilak's policy was to keep agitation constantly simmering. Inevitably there were times when popular feeling would boil over!"§

Now Mr. Tilak's reactionary projects were no new policies, and Mr. Thompson goes on to describe Tilak's inflammatory denunciations of the British when they were fighting the bubonic plague and committed the "crime" of inoculating plague victims and of killing the conveyers of the plague, the rats, which are not only sacred to all Hindus but to Ganesha worshippers in particular, since Ganesha's earthly "vehicle" is the rat. As a result, numbers of Englishmen were murdered and, as Mr. Thompson observes:

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*Ranga Iyer; "India, Peace or War?" pages 82–3–4. †Tilak was a Mahratta Brahman.

‡"An Indian Commentary," by G. T. Garratt, page 130.

§Edward Thompson; "Reconstructing India," page 78.

> Assassination had entered Indian politics. Since that day* it has never left them. Mr. Tilak was imprisoned for a year, which gave him invaluable advertisement. Subsequently, in 1908, after two English ladies were assassinated in Bombay by a bomb, he set the murder down to oppression, was tried for seeking to bring the Government into contempt and to arouse hatred and enmity, and sentenced to six years' imprisonment, a sentence which was made a precedent at Mr. Gandhi's trial, in 1922.†

There was no interruption in the revolutionary incitements of Mr. Tilak's leadership until his death in August, 1920, when Mr. Gandhi donned Mr. Tilak's toga. It is no wonder that an illiterate people, with an inheritance of thousands of years of fanatical feuds, gave vent to violent outbreaks. While these eruptions took place all over India, Bengal and the Punjab were the main furnaces of fanatical fury.

VIOLENCE OF NATIONALISM IN BENGAL.

"Bengali Nationalism, unlike Nationalism in other parts of India, is not sprung from memory, but has an imaginative source. The enthusiastic intellectual Renaissance which had resulted from the impact of the thought and literature of the West enormously added to the flexibility and expressiveness of Bengali, one of the most vivacious and vivid tongues in the world.‡ Poets and novelists evoked the Image of Bengal, the Mother watching over her children, the land served by the Ganges and wonderful with wide, emerald fields, gracious mango-groves, far-reaching silences and limpid skies. Of this the administration realized nothing when it decided to split the Province across.

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*1897, when the bubonic plague was at its height.

†Thompson; page 80.

‡Mr. Thompson speaks from deep knowledge. He spent his childhood in India, was, as I have mentioned, for twelve years professor at Bankura College in Bengal and is now Lecturer in Bengali at Oxford.

What to the Government was merely a measure designed for greater efficiency, to the Bengali mind was a deed of callous vivisection of a sacred body. . . .

"The Government must be acquitted of any suspicion that Bengal had passed through two generations of intense intellectual and imaginative activity, and that the educated classes had ceased to regard themselves as merely material to be administered, and really believed they were now part of a national entity. On administration grounds, there was a strong case for the Partition (1905). It was absurd to have seventy million people under one provincial rule. The administration was undermanned. In the district of Mymensingh, in East Bengal, there was one English executive officer, to four million inhabitants. . . . The Partition pleased the Mohammedans who in the new lieutenant-governorship of East Bengal and Assam were in a majority, whereas in the old undivided Province they were submerged, by lack of education even more than by numerical inferiority. This introduced another element of acerbity into the controversy. Hindu Bengal answered by a boycott of English goods. This may be looked on as the fore-runner of Mr. Gandhi's later attempt. . . . The opposition took on extreme violence of tone."*

"When Nationalism in Bengal became revolutionary in mood and aim, it showed features all its own. It had an emotional intensity, often reaching hysteria; it had a consistent record of extreme violence, the bomb being preached as the Patriot's weapon, and preferable to the pistol. It was psychologically and socially a more complex phenomenon, and the movement drew into at best temporary sympathy men of intellectual and ethical greatness that would be exceptional anywhere. Some of these men must be acquitted of the least tendency for violence, and some withdrew in disgust when protest passed into organized murder. . . .†

"When every act of Government repression and of individual police roughness or bullying is amassed for indictment purposes, it still remains incontrovertible that no revolutionary movement—anywhere, in the world's history—was handled with greater patience. . . . But I do not rest my opinion on official figures. For a great part of the worst period I was in Bengal and can testify to the good temper and sense of justice that were manifested by that much abused service, the Police, and by the administration generally."‡

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*Thompson; pages 84–5–6.

†Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore was one of this number, and Mr. Gokhale, who in December, 1905, in his Presidential address to the Congress at Benares, said: "Bengal's heroic stand against the oppression of a harsh and uncontrolled bureaucracy" had "astonished and gratified all India," thereafter spoke on other subjects.

‡Thompson; pages 81–2.

The Partition, which had been proposed by Lord Curzon during his Viceroyalty, was annulled in 1911 but the following year two unconnected sectors of Bengal were separated from the Province, united under one administration and entitled "The Province of Bihar and Orissa," which is the most artificial unit of all the Indian provinces. We have a faint idea of the isolation of Bihar from Gandhi's indigo campaign in Champaran. Orissa, which is completely detached from Bihar by the Chota Nagpur plateau, stretches in delta lands along the Bay of Bengal for some 300 miles, with no port of any consequence. This new separation is never called a Partition, for it met with practically no opposition.

But if you think that this new arrangement, to which no one objected, pleased any of the rebellious Bengalis who had been fiercely and savagely warring against the Partition, you don't know the Indian temperament. The Hindus stayed angry because their prestige was hurt when the Imperial capital was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi, the city which is the pride of the Mohammedans as the seat of former glory of the Moslem and Moghul emperors. We know that the move was a practical necessity and had nothing to do with communal questions, and the Hindus knew it too. In compensation, however, Bengal, which had been the Provincial seat of a Lieutenant-Governor, was raised to that of a Governor, but with little resulting appeasement. The fact that the Hindus controlled the land of the Holy Ganges and were in political majority in spite of their minority of population, because of the lower educational and economic standard of the more populous Moslems, was also not mollifying to their feelings of oppression. The Moslems were still on the warpath because of their anxieties for Turkey's power. They had remained largely outside the Congress until Mr. Gandhi adopted the cause of the Ali brothers and joined the Khilafat Movement.

But there were even other conditions which we should consider, that kept Bengal a hotbed of anarchy. Let us go back to Mr. Thompson and take up the thread where I left off quoting.

The opposition took on extreme violence of tone. . . . Three separate strands in this opposition may be disentangled and indicated. First . . . [Mr. Thompson explains the British lack of sympathy]. . . . The Government was not unduly harsh, it was one that observed legal procedure except in times of exceptional violence and even then did far less than any other Government would have done. . . . The second strand in Bengali Nationalism . . . is religious. The cult of Sivaji, as a hero and even as an incarnation of Vishnu, was imported from Bombay . . . to take considerable root. Historically the Mahrattas never did anything for Bengal but pillage it.* Yet Bengal developed, and has kept, much enthusiasm for Sivaji. Its main enthusiasm, however, is for the goddess Kali. . . . Kali worship became Nation-worship. Its aberrations can be studied in Sir Valentine Chirol's book, "Indian Unrest." Those resident in Bengal had reason enough to be conscious of this element of religious fanaticism. In the up-country city where I taught for years, in 1920, a towering image of Kali, at least seventy feet high, was erected under a shelter, in a position where it commanded the main approach to the Bazaar. . . . In the very centre of the Bazaar, the vegetable market, appeared a thirty-foot high image of Vishnu in his Man-Lion incarnation, tearing out the bowels of a figure flung face upward across his knees. The figure was pale-complexioned, and dressed like an Englishman. In front of the figure, and gazing reverently towards it, were Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers (to signify the Hindu-Mohammedan rapprochement), a woman ("Mother India"), and a cow.

Thirdly, in Bengal revolutionary activity took on its most murderous form. The most hateful assassination, and one of the few for which the extreme penalty was paid, was the killing of two ladies at Muzaffarpur. . . . This was the work of two students, one of whom shot himself when about to be arrested. Few people will credit the intensity of [Indian] passion this act aroused. . . . It may seem queer, but it is true, it struck many Indians as a very wonderful thing that the bomb had entered the political arena. The pistol—that could be bought or stolen. The bomb had to be made. It showed mechanical ingenuity. It brought the patriotic effort up to date.†

There are other features peculiar to Bengal that have incubated violence. Yet while the smallest in area of the governors' provinces except Assam, it has more inhabitants than any other Province, yet it is more homogeneous, racially, linguistically and geographically, than any other great district of India. Though religious and cultural cleavages are no less constant than elsewhere between Hindus and Moslems and socially and politically they are widely divided, it is generally believed that only a small proportion of the Moslems of Bengal are descended from the conquering Moslem invaders; they are mainly descendants from those converted from Hinduism. Although Bengal controls practically the jute monopoly of the world, the raw industry has remained largely in the ownership of Europeans and the bulk of the jute laborers come from outside the province, for the Bengalis have not generally taken to factory or mill work, which they leave almost entirely to the Oriyas and up-country coolies. At the same time Calcutta, where centres 96 per cent of the urban population of Bengal, is a great Hindu intellectual and political centre, and its numerous newspapers and enormous university, second in size only to Columbia in New York, exercise a profound influence over the views not only of the Province but of a wide area of educated India. Nowhere else is the social problem of the middle class (the Hindu "bhadralog") so perplexing for such as train for clerical and professional careers in numbers enormously in excess of those required for available work and who, for reasons of caste and prestige, refuse to turn their talents to other vocations. Their one acceptable outlet is the political arena and it is to this martial field that they turn their trained intellects and untrained hatreds for the Government which cannot offer official careers to such a number. In addition, malaria and cholera are more prevalent in this Province than in any other. Having visited Kali Ghat and Benares we can not be surprised that in 1921, for instance, a mild cholera year, 80,547 Bengalis died from cholera alone.* In these last few years a number of Indian organizations have started a campaign to educate the people to regard the fight against malaria and cholera as a health necessity and not as religious oppression by the British.* But the hatred and frenzy of the populace at large is as strenuous as ever against inoculation and mosquito destruction. Mr. Gandhi is one of these.

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*I have taken the liberty of changing Mr. Thompson's spelling of "Marathas" to "Mahrattas," simply because I have used the latter form so often that I think it might cause confusion. They are equally correct and refer to the same people. In the same category, "Ganesh" and "Ganesha" are identical. All Eastern spelling offers similar questions for the writer, as not only different, but often the same, sections of a country use a great array of words meaning the same place or people. But I know of no one who has so wittily explained and so nonchalantly refused to be disturbed by the conflict as that rare and mystical soul, T. E. Lawrence, in his "Revolt in the Desert."

†Thompson; pages 87, 88, 89, 90.

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*See Statistical Abstract for British India, 1914–15 to 1923–24, pages 2 and 382; and 54th Annual Report of the Director of Public Health of Bengal, Appendix I, page xxviii.

> From first to last, political murder has been freely condoned in India. It has been usual to express conventional disapproval of the deed, with enthusiastic admiration of the courage and self-sacrifice that prompted it. . . . The assassination campaign was endured with a sense of duty beyond all praise. The Indian police officers, even more than the British, knew that their lives were almost sure forfeit if they took action against any one in the revolutionary movement. This did not deter them, though man after man was shot down. . . . The revolutionary movement particularly sought to engage students, in this respect going against the judgment of many political leaders, that the presence of students in politics robbed them (politics, not the students) of dignity and balance and added elements of excitement and irresponsibility. It was not uncommon to find on College notice-boards orders emanating from "The President, Indian Revolutionary Committee."†

VIOLENCE IN THE PUNJAB

We have studied enough about the Punjab to know that this Province is the home of the most militant peoples of India. This land-locked area, which was for years a frontier province, bore for centuries the brunt of the unceasing invasions through the Khyber. It was here that the warrior and religious brotherhood, the Sikhs, ruled, although a minority population. Of a total of 20,500,000, the Punjab populace, according to the census of 1921, consisted of 11,500,000 Mohammedans, 6,500,000 Hindus and 2,250,000 Sikhs.

Following the two Sikh wars, which we have already reviewed, the Sikhs stood loyal to the British during the mutiny of 1857, and until immediately before the World War there was no great trouble with these clans, who worked off their martial energies in enlisting in the Indian standing army, though these proud peoples were infuriated because they were refused citizenship rights particularly in South Africa, British Columbia and California, where there were a number of Indian settlements due to the attraction of high wages. The repercussions of their indignation struck in India in December, 1912, when Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, who had done so much in behalf of the rights of Indian colonists, was seriously wounded at Delhi by a bomb and an Indian attendant killed. The criminal was not apprehended. A few months later, in May, 1913, another bombing took place, this time in Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, but an unsuspecting Indian ran into it on a bicycle, so he alone was killed and the Europeans escaped. The following May a ship arrived at Vancouver with 351 Sikhs and twenty-one Punjabi Mohammedans as prospective settlers. The Canadians didn't want them and determined to exclude them. The Punjabis had no legal-minded champion, such as the Indians in South Africa had had in Mr. Gandhi. The Canadians won where the South Africans had lost. Before the infuriated Punjabis on board the returning ship had reached Calcutta, mutinies and political dacoities were planned, and a revolution hatched.

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*The Anti-Malaria Cooperative Society of Bengal, whose leader has been Doctor G. C. Chatterjee, is the most enterprising and successful of these Indian societies.

†Thompson; pages 90–1.

> The passengers, in the worst of tempers, reached Bengal after War had broken out, on September 27, 1914. They refused a special train to the Punjab which the Government had chartered for them free of charge, and tried to march on Calcutta, in protest. There was street fighting, with loss of life on both sides; the majority of the Sikhs scattered over the country, most being presently hunted down and arrested. Great excitement was caused among Indian groups all over the East, by tidings of a revolution preparing in the Punjab. Another Japanese ship, the *Tosa Maru*,* on October 29 brought to Calcutta a further 173 Indians, mostly Sikhs collected from Manila, Hongkong, Shanghai and America. One hundred were immediately interned. The rest reached the Punjab, and joined the *Komagata Maru* stragglers. All were ablaze with wrath. . . . The *Ghadr* ["Mutiny"] conspiracy, already in being both in the Punjab and in California, developed rapidly into a movement the most dangerous since the Mutiny [1857], for its participants belonged to the most formidable soldier clans in

*The Punjabis who had been refused disembarkation at Vancouver in May, 1914, had also been on board a chartered Japanese steamer, the *Komagata Maru*.

India. There were political dacoities. (A Resolution passed on board the *Tosa Maru* was that loyal Punjabis of substance were to be looted.) In the upshot, under the Defense of India Act [the local Defense of the Realm Act, a wartime measure in England], nine batches of conspirators were tried by Special Tribunals at Lahore. Twenty-nine only were acquitted. Twenty-eight were hanged, and the rest sentenced to transportation or imprisonment. These were not all the casualties.*

"India as I Knew It," by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, then Lieutent-Governor of the Punjab, reports a ghastly record of revolutionary outrages and of subsequent executions, while the Rowlatt Report, that document which has borne the brunt of herculean vituperation, lists an appalling number of mutinies and courts-martial, which were dealt with by the ordinary courts. But these horrors were not confined to the Punjab, where not only the Sikhs were seditious but the Mohammedans were mutinous in their demands for Turkey.

Pyrrhic Conflicts (1919 and after)

The Rowlatt Act, the Khilafat Movement, the Moplah Massacres, are three of many conflicts that were settled at perilously penalizing costs to all concerned. I shall quote as frequently as possible from authentic Indian and English accounts. The events were their Via Dolorosa.

On December, 10, 1917, the Government appointed a committee under the chairmanship of the Hon. Mr. Justice Rowlatt,† to investigate the spread of revolution throughout India, especially in the Punjab, Maharashtra and Bengal, and to report whether emergency legislation was needed to cope with the wide-spread violence and assassination, and what remedies the committee could recommend that would stop the sedition. The committee reported on April 15, 1918, at a critical ebb in the affairs of the British Empire as well as of all the Allied nations engaged in the World War, an appalling number of outrages, evidence of an intensity of treasonable propaganda conducted in schools and colleges, and extensive movements of

*Thompson; pages 112–13–14.

†Sir Sidney Rowlatt was then Judge of the King's Bench Division of His Majesty's High Court of Justice.

organized revolutionary factions, also data proving the frustration of police espionage by revolutionary terrorism.

The committee, which was composed of eminent judges, administrators and lawyers, British and Indian, recommended measures that dealt only with treasonable and anarchical crimes and provided for the expeditious trial by a special tribunal, consisting of three High Court Judges, of all seditious offenders. In areas where wide-spread revolutionary movements were evidenced, the local governments, it was advised, should have power to order suspected persons to furnish security, to reside in a particular place, or to abstain from any specified act, or to arrest and to interne them in such places and under such conditions as were prescribed. These recommendations were incorporated in a Bill and introduced into the Indian Legislature with the purpose that it take the place of the Defense of India Act, synonymous with the Defense of the Realm Act in England, the familiarly termed "Dora."

The Bill ignited Indian wrath. It was condemned as a "sinister conspiracy" to control India, and its introduction "in the Legislative Council raised a hue and cry in the country, the like of which India had not heard since 1857."* India refused to recognize the self-evident fact that the Bill was the result of anarchy, punished only anarchy and was operative against only anarchy. Mr. Gandhi attended the Legislative Chamber, the only visit in his life to the Indian Parliament, on the occasion of the debate on this Bill. The Bill was made a law on March 18, 1919, and immediately he left for a tour of India, ordering a Hartal† throughout the country and making an active campaign for civil disobedience. He urged the breaking of the salt laws and encouraged the selling of books of his authorship which had been proscribed as seditious, but the Government ignored the law-breakers, although their numbers were multitudinous, which "caused general disappointment," as Mr. Gandhi relates.‡

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*Ranga Iyer; "India, Peace or War?" pages 85–6.

†A closing of all shops and places of business as a sign of mourning and protest.

‡"Gandhi," page 302.

As he couldn't stir up a flaming revolt in Bombay, Mr. Gandhi left on April 7 for the Punjab, which was boiling with mutiny, but was halted at the frontier.

> I was put in a first-class compartment with him [Inspector of Police]. . . . In the end he requested me to return to Bombay of my own accord, and agree not to cross the frontier as Sir Michael O'Dwyer [the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab] apprehended a disturbance of the peace if I entered the Punjab. I replied that I could not possibly comply with the order. . . . Whereupon the officer, seeing no other help . . . replied, "For the present I am taking you to Bombay" . . . "You are now free," the officer told me when we reached Bombay. [Gandhi drove to the place of a friend who] told me that the news of my arrest had incensed the people, and roused them to a pitch of mad frenzy. "An outbreak is apprehended every minute near Pydhuni [a crowded quarter of Bombay]. The Magistrate and the police have already arrived there."

Gandhi at once motored to Pydhuni where

> a huge crowd had gathered. On seeing me the people went mad with joy. A procession was immediately formed, and the sky was rent with the shouts of "Bande Mataram" and "Allaho Akbar." As the procession issued out of Abdur Rahman Street and was about to proceed toward the Crawford Market, it suddenly found itself confronted by a body of the mounted police who had arrived there to prevent them from proceeding further in the direction of the Fort. The crowd was densely packed. It had almost broken through the police cordon. There was hardly any chance of my voice being heard in that vast concourse. Just then the officer in charge gave the order to disperse the crowd. . . . The ranks of the people were soon broken and they were thrown into utter confusion, which was soon converted into a rout. . . . The whole thing presented a most dreadful spectacle. The horsemen and the people were mixed together in mad confusion.*

Gandhi, unmolested, proceeded to the Commissioner's office where he delivered a jeremiad. Mr. Griffith, the Commissioner, explained, in detail, that he had no alternative but to disperse the crowd, due to continual mob disturbances and destructiveness. Mr. Gandhi continued to insist:

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*"Gandhi," pages 304–5. Perhaps you are wondering, as I am, where was the compelling influence of the Mahatma? If his people really obey him, why didn't he save them hurt by sending word through the crowd, by lieutenants, to disperse, and then he himself protest to the police?

> "The people are not by nature violent, but peaceful," I replied. Thus we argued at length. Ultimately Mr. Griffith said, "But suppose you are convinced that your teaching has been lost on the people, what would you do?" "I should suspend civil disobedience if I was so convinced." Mr. Griffith said, "Do you know what is happening in Ahmedabad? And what has happened in Amritsar?* People have everywhere gone nearly mad. The telegraph wires have been cut in some places. The responsibility for these disturbances lies on you." [Gandhi replied:] "I assure you I shall readily take it upon myself whenever I discover it. But I should be deeply pained and surprised if I found that there were disturbances in Ahmedabad. I cannot answer for Amritsar."
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> Anasuyaben [a devoted follower of Gandhi] too had received news of disturbances in Ahmedabad. Some one had spread a rumor that she also had been arrested [as Gandhi was at the Punjab frontier]. The mill hands had gone mad over her rumored arrest, struck work and committed acts of violence, and a sergeant had been done to death. So I proceeded to Ahmedabad. On the way I learnt that an attempt had been made to pull up the rails near the Nadiad railway station, that a Government officer had been murdered in Viramgam, and that Ahmedabad was under martial law. The people were terror-stricken. They had indulged in acts of violence and were being made to pay for them with interest [martial law]. A police officer was waiting at the station to escort me to Mr. Pratt, the Commissioner. I found him in a state of rage. I spoke to him gently, and expressed my regret for the disturbances. I suggested that martial law was unnecessary, and declared my readiness to co-operate in all efforts to restore peace. I asked for permission to hold a public meeting on the grounds of the Sabarmati Ashram. The proposal appealed to him, and the meeting was held, I think, on Sunday, April 14th. Martial law was withdrawn the same day or the day after. Addressing the meeting, I tried to bring home to the people the sense of their wrong, declared a penitential fast of three days for myself, and appealed to the people to go on a similar fast for a day, and suggested to those who had been guilty of acts of violence to confess their guilt.†
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> [So we may gauge the extent of Mr. Gandhi's great sorrow, let us turn back to page 186 of his autobiography:] Once when I was in

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*Ahmedabad is the seat of Mr. Gandhi's school. Amritsar is the Sikh religious capital (near Lahore) to which Mr. Gandhi was headed when halted at the Punjab frontier.

†"Gandhi," pages 307–8–9.

> Johannesburg I received the tidings of the moral fall of two of the inmates of the Ashram [his school for boys at his Tolstoy Farm in South Africa]. This news came to me like a thunderbolt. . . . I felt that the parties to the guilt could be made to realize my distress and the depth of their fall, only if I did some penance for it. So I imposed upon myself a fast for seven days and a vow of having one meal a day for a period of four months and a half.

For a moral misdemeanor of two school-boys he adopted a strenuous denial, but for violence and the murder of white people he fasted three days!

As for his promise to Mr. Griffith to give up civil disobedience if he found the people violent, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, one of the foremost judges of the High Courts of India, an eminent Indian statesman, who has occupied high offices under the Crown and fought India's battles as a Radical, makes interesting comment on Mr. Gandhi's habit of idle promises:

> On the 27th of October (1921) Mr. Gandhi speaks of his "threat to seek the shelter of the Himalayas should violence become universal in India, and should it not have engulfed me."
>
> As *New India* points out: "it would be interesting to know when this threat was made. We all know that Mr. Gandhi said that if there was violence he would go to the Himalayas. There was a riot, but he did not go, but excused himself by saying that if it occurred a second time, he would go. A second riot occurred; he said nothing but did not go. Now we hear that he had made a threat to go, should it become universal in India. When and where was this said?"
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> Toward the end of the month, *The Times of India* observed: "Writing in the latest issue of *Navajivan,* his Gujarati newspaper, Mr. Gandhi makes the interesting announcement that if Swaraj is not obtained by December, he will either die of a broken heart or retire from public life, leaving the heedless people of India to their resources. Were so clear a pronouncement made by any other politician, we could say definitely that when the new year dawns Mr. Gandhi will no longer be actively engaged in politics!"
>
> Can there be any possible doubt that all these statements were made by him in order to impress upon his dupes the fact that they were going to get Swaraj within a year and to deceive his followers to follow him and finance him? Yet what was the situation! Almost every item in his programme has been tried and found useless to attain Home Rule.*

*"Gandhi and Anarchy," by Sir C. Sankaran Nair, pages 90–91.

These are a few instances of what may be called "an old Gandhian custom."

One would think that Mr. Gandhi's memory would be quite exact as to the day the martial law was withdrawn (this is the only instance in all his autobiography of uncertainty as to dates), for on April 13 occurred what the Duke of Connaught called "The shadow of Amritsar" which "lengthened over the fair face of India."

Let us consider four points of view of the tragedy at Amritsar, two English and two Indian, all four being the judgements of men "on the spot," for the events are far-reaching to this day and bear, in part, the onus of the alleged cause of the non-co-operative movement. First, I shall quote from the account of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab from 1913-1919, who gave thirty-five years of his life to active service in the civil government of India, in his "India As I Knew It," in which Sir Michael quotes from official reports, supplemented by personal diaries and memoranda:

> On the 23rd March, Gandhi, having marshalled his forces, began the war against the Rowlatt Act by proclaiming a Hartal or stoppage of all work throughout India on the following Sunday—30th March.
>
> A Hartal took place at Delhi and, as any sensible man who knows the temper of an Indian mob could foresee, the passive resistance was soon enforced by violence and intimidation. The railway station, which is the focus of all the railway traffic of Northern India, was stormed by the mob to compel the vendors of food and sweetmeats to close. They resisted and were assaulted and the station was damaged. The police were called in, but failed to clear out the mob. The British police officers were assaulted, and the crowd remained hostile and riotous even after the release of the two ring-leaders, who had been arrested. British and Indian troops were called out to force back the mob. The latter resisted, the police and troops were stoned, and the magistrate ordered the troops to fire—after several of the police had been injured. A few of the rioters were killed; the mob was pushed back toward the main Bazaar, but again attacked the troops, who at first fired in the air. The mob then charged the troops and were again fired on with a few more casualties. There were in all eight death casualties. Frequent disturbances broke out up to 17th April when a police picquet was attacked and had to fire in self-defense, killing

two and wounding several of the mob. None of those who incited or participated in the disorders were ever brought to justice; in fact they were regarded, and regarded themselves, as masters of the situation, and as dictating terms to the Chief Commissioner. For weeks order was not restored in the capital of India. The example of the paralysis of authority there was not lost on those who were preparing to defy it elsewhere. . . .

The Delhi disturbance added fresh fuel to the fire. The few who had lost their lives by defying the law were exalted into "martyrs" and glorified in the press. Mr. Gandhi, instead of calling off a spurious agitation based on the wildest of falsehoods, which he saw had already led to bloodshed, ordered another Hartal for Sunday 6th April. Meantime the attitude of the extremist Press became more violent, and in Lahore and Amritsar posters appeared urging the populace at Amritsar to "kill and die," and warning the British officials at Lahore, that "there will be a great Ghadr [rebellion] at Lahore on 6th April, our National day. Be prepared to meet all that awaits to befall you Englishmen on that day."

Realizing that a storm was coming, we in the Punjab did what we could to prevent or minimize it. Proceedings were taken against some of the most dangerous firebrands and most violent newspapers, and in Lahore and Amritsar public meetings were forbidden without previous sanction. On the 6th April the Hartals took place in nearly all the chief towns of the Central Punjab, and were enforced, as I saw personally at Lahore, by the most open intimidation in which college students—especially from the Arya Samaj institution—played a leading part. The orders regarding public meetings were openly defied, menacing crowds with black flags paraded the streets, and only the presence of a large body of British and Indian troops, including cavalry, with machine-guns, prevented them from forcing their way into the European quarter. To expose the falsehoods about the Rowlatt Act employed to excite the ignorant mobs, we had hastily printed and distributed tens of thousands of copies of an explanation of the Act—which had not yet been brought into force in any part of India, and could not be without the special sanction of the Government of India. These copies were torn up or burned publicly, for those who were behind this lawless agitation knew that it could only thrive on falsehood.

The Lahore mob that night made hostile demonstrations against prominent Indian gentlemen known to be supporters of the Government. Something similar was taking place at Amritsar, Kasur, Jullundur, Mooltan. At Mooltan on the previous day Gandhi's disciples, the "passive resisters," refused to allow the 2/30th Punjabis to march through the city to receive the welcome arranged for them by the

Municipality on their return from the War. At Amritsar—a city of 150,000 people with only one company of British troops—the situation created by the virulent agitation of Kichlu and Satya Pal, who were still influencing it, had become so critical that on 8th or 9th April I ordered their removal to a distant place and at the same time asked the military authorities to strengthen the garrison (General Dyer had already sent troops from Jullundur to protect the railway station). But unfortunately my request was not received by them till the 11th and the outbreak took place on the 10th. . . .

I had hoped that my grave warning, which was at once published in the press, would have brought home to those who were working up the city mobs to the point of frenzy, that if a serious outbreak resulted, they would be the first I would lay hands on (as I did), and that this knowledge would restrain them; for most of this class are at heart cowards, and when the trouble starts they disappear into their hiding-places. But either things had gone too far for them to draw back, or they thought that I was "bluffing"—as I was to leave in a few weeks—and would not have the support of the Government in India. They saw, too, that nothing effective was being done to restore the situation in Delhi—the Government of India headquarters.

It was at this critical stage that I received news that Gandhi was on his way to Delhi and the Punjab. I at once issued orders prohibiting him from entering, and the Government of India passed similar orders as regards Delhi and agreed to Gandhi, if he disregarded the orders, being sent back to Bombay. On the morning of 9th he was served with the orders at a railway station on the borders of the Province, protested against them, but agreed to go back to Bombay by the next train; and one of our police officers saw that he did. It was open to the Bombay authorities to prosecute him for breaking the law there, but they decided not to do so. . . .

The inner section who were directing the agitation were well aware that the British troops in the Punjab were few and were mainly Garrison battalions or Territorials, of whom Kichlu had spoken so slightingly a week before at Amritsar that I quietly directed arrangements for his protection from the risk of reprisals by the brave men he had libelled. They also hoped that when the explosion came they would be joined by a large section of the Indian army and the Indian police; indeed on the 6th April attempts had been made to tamper with the troops on duty in Lahore. They also counted on being joined by a large section of the virile rural population—especially the Sikhs—and agents were sent out from Delhi, Amritsar, and Lahore to work them up.

Finally, some at least were already invoking the aid of Afghanistan and the Frontier tribes—to whom emissaries had been sent from Delhi and Amritsar—in the attack on the British Government. Fortunately all these plans either failed completely or did not materialize in time.

The Indian police, in spite of most insidious attempts to seduce them, remained, as ever, true to their salt. Among the Indian troops there were certain disquieting symptoms, especially in some of the new units which were still raw and undisciplined. . . .

The Afghans and the Frontier tribes, incited by Indian emissaries, began to move toward the Frontiers early in April—and began a concerted attack on the North-West Frontier at the end of April. They were encouraged by the belief that the Punjab was seething with rebellion and ready to receive them with open arms. The rebellion had broken out on 10th April, but it had been crushed a week before our external enemies were able to make their effort. Instead of being welcomed by mutinous troops and a rebellious population, as they had been led to expect, they found a well-equipped army of 200,000 men barring their way, supported by the loyal millions of the rural Punjab, who had again rallied to the defence of the Empire which they had done so much to maintain in the Great War. . . .

No impartial critic will *now* accept the conclusion of these authorities that there was no evidence of an organized conspiracy. The evidence was there. For instance, an Afridi native officer who had won the V.C. in the War, was ready to testify to the overtures made to his tribe by seditious Hindus from the Punjab and Peshawar. But for reasons of "political expediency" it was not produced, or, when already available, as in the judgments of the Martial Law Commission which dealt with the various outbreaks in half a dozen districts of the Punjab, Lord Hunter's Committee positively declined to look at it. Moreover, that Committee by its terms of reference was debarred from going into the outbreaks at Calcutta in April and in Peshawar in May, 1919, both of which were part of the general revolutionary movement.

The outbreak at Amritsar, which was in any case inevitable after that of 30th March at Delhi, was undoubtedly precipitated on 10th April by the deportation that morning of the two arch-seditionists Kichlu and Satya Pal, both of whom were afterward convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, but were speedily amnestied. The mob, which had been incited to defy the law by months of open and secret revolutionary propaganda, at once rose, endeavored to force its way into the Civil Station where the British officials and non-officials reside, and was held up by the small British picquets on the bridges over the railway which connect the city with the Civil Station. The mobs attacked the troops with stones, sticks, and other missiles; were fired upon and suffered a few casualties; at once attacked and murdered all the Europeans (five) whom they could lay hands on in the city. They attempted to murder two Englishwomen—a lady missionary and a lady doctor working in the city, and left the former for dead in the street; set fire to the Anglican Church, to the Mission School, while the teachers and pupils were inside, and several other Mission buildings. They then looted the two English banks, after murdering the three British managers and burning their bodies; set fire to the railway goods station and murdered a British railway official on duty; attacked the railway passenger station but were repulsed by the small force that General Dyer had wisely posted there a day before, and by two hundred unarmed Gurkhas who had opportunely arrived by a troop train; attacked and gutted the Central Telegraph Office and attempted to murder the telegraph master, who was rescued by some Indian troops; set fire to the Town Hall; burned and looted the various post offices; looted a goods train in the station; attacked the Calcutta mail train on its way to Lahore; and wrecked and looted the railway station adjoining Amritsar. Such was the manner in which the Amritsar mob in a few hours gave a display of Gandhi's "Soul Force." . . .

Soon after receiving the terrible news from Amritsar I was informed that mobs were assembling, in defiance of the legal prohibition, in Lahore City with the object of invading the Civil Station, where there were some thousands of Europeans, the majority being women and children. There were no troops nearer than Lahore Cantonment, five miles off. I sent urgent messages to the Divisional Commander, General Sir William Beynon, who had so skilfully handled the critical situation on the 6th, to send in troops at once to take the same protective measures.

Meantime we in Lahore, who knew what had happened at Amritsar a few hours before and what was likely to happen on an infinitely greater scale at Lahore if military aid was delayed, went through some hours of the most terrible suspense. I had asked for the troops about two o'clock. About five o'clock I heard of the collection of the city mobs. Up to 6:30 I had no news of the arrival of the troops. At 6:45 I got hold of the District Magistrate (Mr. Fyson) and the Superintendent of Police (Mr. Broadway). Messages had come in that the mobs were moving on the Civil Station; from my verandah I could hear their ominous cries, one and a half miles off, and there was only a small body of armed police to block their way. I sent the two officers in a motor to take charge of the body of Indian police holding the Mall which links the city to the Civil Station, with instructions to parley with the mob, hold them up as long as possible, induce them, if possible, to return to the city, and, if they persisted in the attempt to force their way through, to use force to disperse them. I ascertained that the police were armed with buck-shot, and I said that if they had to fire there was to be no firing in the air. We could afford to take no risks where the safety of thousands of women and children was at stake. Meantime, on the suggestion of Mr. Montgomery, the Chief Engineer, we collected all the women and children who could be got together at Government House, where there was a small military and police guard, both Indian. We kept them there till we heard that the troops had arrived and the mobs had been driven back to the city.

The District Magistrate and Police Superintendent, when they came up with the small police force on the Mall, found them being steadily pushed back into the Civil Station by a howling mob of 10,000 people. There were three or four more casualties—one fatal—and the hostile crowds, who had been shouting that the Indian troops had mutinied at Amritsar, and that Lahore City was in their hands, were driven back into the city about 9.30 P.M. One wonders what would have happened if the police had had to await written orders from the magistrate before firing, as the Bill of an Indian "patriot" which has just passed its second reading in the All-India Assembly provides,* or if they had had to wait for an hour after the reading of a Proclamation and for further serious attacks on life and property within that hour, as the Right Honorable Mr. Sastri proposed. These gentlemen had never been in a riot, much less in a rebellion.

But the city was still in the hands of lawless mobs, and the police had to be withdrawn till the 12th. On that date, a force of all arms, under Colonel Johnson, entered the city, dispersed the mobs, and was attacked. The police were again called upon to fire, as they had buckshot while the troops had only ball-ammunition—which would cause serious casualties. There were a few more casualties, but authority was re-established. . . .

The arrival of the troops on the 10th saved the situation at Lahore for the moment. Late that night, with my wife, I went to the Lawrence Hall to receive an address from the representatives of the martial classes, which had been arranged some time before. I was strongly advised to put it off for the atmosphere was still electric. It was a critical occasion and gave one the opportunity of seeing how men are tested by a crisis. I invited free expression of opinion. Two of the Lahore urban representatives, one of whom, Sir Muhamed Shaffi, became later a member of the Government of India, suggested opening negotiations, as at Delhi, with the mob leaders, who were now supreme in the cities of Lahore and Amritsar and openly encouraging the seditious movement. All the others who spoke were of one opinion, that only prompt and drastic action by Government would avert a serious rising. I told them that I would accept co-operation from all honestly desirous to restore peace, but would accept dictation from none, that I would not enter into negotiations with rebels (that was the mistake made at Delhi, and it prevented the authorities from subsequently bringing the seditious leaders to justice), and that Government was quite capable of restoring the situation by itself, but would do so more speedily with their co-operation. This was promised by all. Steps were taken to issue a manifesto advising the people to obey the law, avoid public meetings, and not listen to evil rumors. The manifesto which was prepared by some of the Lahore politicians was a very milk-and-water affair and showed that I could not expect much help from that quarter. . . .

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*This Bill has been a law for several years and it has resulted in the death of many troops.

There had been promoting or participating in seditious meetings of the most violent type in the Badshahi Mosque in the city on 11th and 12th. There a Sikh ex-Sepoy announced (falsely of course) the mutiny of the Indian troops and the killing of 500 British (including six by his own hand). He was applauded by the delirious audience and carried in triumph to the pulpit. Other inflammatory speeches were delivered from the pulpit by Hindu orators, and a Council of twenty (after the approved Soviet model) was appointed to direct the seditious agitation. The mob left these gatherings intoxicated with the spirit of rebellion, tore down and stamped on the pictures of Their Majesties, shouting that the Sultan or the Afghan Amir or the Kaiser was their Sovereign, called on the police, who were then effecting a re-entry into the city, to join them, and established a Danda Fauj (Bludgeon Army) to coerce loyal citizens and bring about a general strike at the railway workshops, where 6,000 able-bodied Punjabis were employed. The leaders who were found by the Martial Law Commission to have organized and been present at the meetings which were so soon followed by these manifestations were not likely to help the authorities in restoring order. In fact, however, some of them condescended to dictate terms as the price of their assistance in quelling the disorders, the rapid spread of which had caused some of them alarm. The terms were, *inter alia:*

(1) That the troops and police who had occupied the city on the 12th should be at once withdrawn.

(2) That those arrested for the criminal acts of 10th–12th April should be released on security.

(3) That, for the future, Government should act only after consultation with a Committee, including some of the "popular" leaders.

I need hardly say I refused to consider these terms. I was not prepared to abdicate to rebels. This was on the 12th, *after* we had regained possession of Lahore City.

On the same date I got news of a serious rising at Kasur, a railway station some twenty-five miles from Lahore and forty from Amritsar. Mobs from the town had invaded the Kasur railway station; held up the trains; brutally murdered two British warrant officers; attempted to murder two British officers and two non-commissioned officers who sustained severe injuries but saved themselves by fighting their way through; attempted to murder an English lady with her three children, who were saved by the gallant action of one Khair Din, a railway inspector, who hid them in a hut and stoutly defended them; looted and burnt the station; cut the telegraph wires. They then attacked the Government buildings; burned the Civil Courts; attacked the Treasury, and were finally driven off after the police guard had opened fire.

Kasur had followed the example of its great neighbors, Lahore and Amritsar, emissaries from Amritsar having been at work there on the 11th, and as was to be expected, the trouble at once spread along the line from Kasur to Amritsar. Several railway stations were attacked and looted, and the Government Treasury at Taran Taran was attacked that night. . . .

The outrages at Amritsar, Lahore, and Kasur from 10th to 12th and the general attack on railways and telegraphic communications all showed signs of prior organization, extending over a large part of the Punjab. The outbreaks in Ahmedabad, the home of Gandhi, and its vicinity, 1,000 miles away from Amritsar, on 12th–14th April (which followed almost exactly the same course as that of Amritsar and were repressed by the military authorities using the same drastic measures as Dyer used at Amritsar) showed that the revolutionary organization was not confined to the Punjab. Indeed Gandhi at Ahmedabad on 14th April, trying for the moment to allay the storm he had aroused, admitted this when he said:

"It seems to me that the deeds I have complained of have been done *in an organized manner*. There seems to be a definite design about them, and I am sure that there must be some educated clever man or men behind them. They may be educated, but their education has not enlightened them; you have been misled into doing these deeds by such people." . . .

Mrs. Besant, who in this matter could also speak with authority, wrote on 18th April in *The Times of India:*

"The cutting of the telegraph wires, the derailment of troop trains, the burning of railway stations, the attacks on banks, the setting free of jail birds are not the actions of *satyagrahis* (passive resisters), nor even of casual rioters, but of revolutionaries."

At Amritsar, the centre of the rebellion, the situation was still extremely menacing. The rebel mobs were in complete possession of the city after the 10th and openly defiant, proclaiming that "it might be the Raj of the Sirkar outside but in the city it was their Raj." Meetings to carry on the rebellion were being held in defiance of repeated proclamations, emissaries were being sent to incite the rural population, and on the morning of the 13th the main railway line near Amritsar was torn up by skilled hands and a train derailed.

The previous night a number of railway stations between Amritsar and Kasur and Amritsar and Lahore had been looted and in some cases burned. Amritsar City, so far from showing any signs of repentance, was still on the 13th in a state of tumult and revolt. The British residents of Amritsar and the vicinity, including one hundred women and children, had been collected in the fort for safety. The rebels had practically isolated General Dyer, who had arrived from Jullundur on the night of 11th April, and his small force of about one thousand men. That was the situation in the Central Punjab which confronted me on 13th April.

At three P.M. that day Sir Michael O'Dwyer, after consulting the Divisional Commander and the Chief Justice of the Punjab Court, wirelessed a detailed report to the government in Delhi and requested permission to establish martial law, which was sanctioned.

To save time my wireless message of the 13th April had been sent *en clair*. It was picked up at the Bolshevist wireless station in Tashkent* and used by the Bolshevists, as we learned later from General Malleson at Meshed, to show that the British were fighting for their very existence in India. . . .

I at once communicated the substance of the message, without awaiting the military report, to the Government of India in the following telegram:

"At Amritsar yesterday Brigadier-General Dyer and Deputy-Commissioner read proclamation in city forbidding all public meetings. Prohibition proclaimed by beat of drum and read and explained at several places in city. In spite of this, meeting attended by six thousand was held at 4.30 contrary to Deputy-Commissioner's expectation. Troops present under command of General Dyer fired, killing about two hundred. Deputy-Commissioner not present. Military report not yet received. City quiet at night, but political effect on Manjha (Sikh tract around Lahore and Amritsar) and troops uncertain. In view of possibilities General Officer Commanding is arranging to draft into Lahore more troops, British and Indian.

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*Tashkent, in Russian Turkestan, is nearer the northwest frontier than is Delhi. Tashkent is the seat of a Communist University for Indians where the principles of Sovietism are inculcated as in the Soviet Universities in Canton and other Chinese cities.

"Early this morning large mob attacked railway station at Wagha (between Lahore and Amritsar); rail was removed by skilled hands and signaller bolted. Armored train went out from Lahore and two cars were derailed and left on line under guard. Assistance being sent. Line cutting and attacks on trains becoming frequent."

In this message I expressed no definite opinion on General Dyer's action, because I had not received his report.

General Dyer, who was compulsorily retired from the army because of his action at Jhalianwala Bagh, reported, officially, the same account of happenings as had Sir Michael O'Dwyer, so we shall save space by omitting his report until we reach his words:

At sixteen hours I received a report from the police that a gathering was beginning in the place mentioned above. I immediately sent picquets to hold various gates of the city (to prevent a renewal of the attack of the 10th on the British quarter) and marched with 25 Rifles 9th Gurkhas, and 25 Rifles from detachments of 54th Sikhs F.F. and 59th Rifles F.F., making a total of 50 Rifles, and also 40 Gurkhas armed with *kukris*. I entered the Jhalianwala Bagh by a very narrow lane which necessitated leaving my armored car behind. On entering I saw a dense crowd, estimated at about 5,000 (those present put it at 15,000 to 20,000); a man on a raised platform addressing the audience and making gesticulations with his hands.

I realized that my force was small and to hesitate might induce attack. I immediately opened fire and dispersed the mob. *I estimate that between 200 and 300 of the crowd were killed.* My party fired 1,650 rounds.

I returned to my headquarters about 18 hours. At 22 hours, accompanied by a force, I visited all my picquets and marched through the city in order to make sure that my order as to inhabitants not being out of their homes after 20 hours had been obeyed. The city was absolutely quiet and not a soul to be seen. I returned to headquarters at midnight. The inhabitants have asked permission to bury the dead in accordance with my orders. This I am allowing.

(Signed) R. B. Dyer, Brigadier-General.
Commanding 45th Brigade.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer comments:

This full and frank report supplemented my telegram of the morning in several particulars. It showed that Dyer had used only Indian troops, that his force was dangerously small for the execution of his imperative duty, and that if he had delayed in order to give further warnings, in addition to those that he and the Deputy-Commissioner had been giving for four hours earlier in the day, his small force would probably have been swept away like chaff before the wind; and then what would have happened to Amritsar, to Lahore, and the Central Punjab? As Dyer said later, he had the rebel army before him, he was practically isolated in the middle of a great city seething with rebellion, and hesitation would have been fatal.

General Beynon also told me that he believed Dyer's action had crushed the rebellion at its heart, Amritsar. My own view, based on my knowledge of the people and the opinions of competent judges like the Commissioner, Mr. Kitchin, was that not only did Dyer's action kill the rebellion at Amritsar, but, as the news got round, would prevent its spreading elsewhere. As a matter of fact after the 18th, by which time the news had penetrated over the Province, it was not necessary to fire another shot. Outside the Punjab the immediate results in stopping the seditious movement were equally marked.

Tilak was still president of the Congress when these tragic events took place, but he died in August, 1920, and Gandhi came into power. We learn Gandhi's interpretation of the Punjab troubles when we read the resolution which he induced the Congress to sign a month after Tilak's death, and again to affirm in December, 1920, wherein he refuses to participate in the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms which broadened so materially the scope of Indian autonomy, giving as his reasons:

> In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty toward the Musalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them, and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Musalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him:—
>
> And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of the 13th April 1919 both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behavior towards them and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for the most official crimes and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the

debate in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab:

This Congress is of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-co-operation until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established."

Sir C. Sankaran Nair, who resigned as member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in protest against the Government's refusal to repudiate Sir Michael O'Dwyer, analyzes Gandhi's resolution as follows:

> The Khilafat question first, the Punjab wrongs next are given as the two grounds for discarding the Reform Scheme and demanding Swarajya. . . . Through discarding the Montague-Chelmsford Reform Scheme of Home Rule by certain stages, Mr. Gandhi says he is working for immediate Home Rule in accordance with the Resolution, to me it seems clear what he is really aiming at is not Home Rule of any kind or form, i.e., Parliamentary Government with absolute powers, but Swarajya the purport of which . . . i.e., anarchy and soul-force. . . .
>
> The real truth, of course, is that the Punjab grievances are only a pretext for this agitation by the violent section headed by Mr. Gandhi. It is really not the redress of the Punjab grievances or prevention of the repetition of atrocities that is sought for, so much as the expulsion of the British Government from India. . . .
>
> It is important to remember that long before these occurrences Mr. Gandhi had come to the conclusion that we must have Independence. It would accordingly seem dishonest on his part to say that these events led him to demand for Swaraj or Home Rule. . . .
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> He advocated them in 1908 in his book "The Indian Home Rule." To say now that he advocated them on account of those reasons [Khilafat] is sheer hypocrisy.*

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*"Gandhi and Anarchy," pages 27, 58, 59, 71 respectively. The entire book is an indictment of Gandhi, who has "adopted underhand methods which appear to me little short of dishonest and fraudulent" (page 50). On page 86 he accuses Gandhi of obtaining money under false pretenses and comments, "Such money was paid on the fraudulent representation of Swaraj within the year." Sir Sankaran Nair was for some time Judge of the Madras High Court, where he obtained a high reputation for independence and impartiality. Needless to say, his charges against Gandhi are adequately substantiated in this book.

Mr. Gandhi is only one of a vast number who accuse Mr. Lloyd George of deliberately breaking his "pledged word" of January 5, 1918 (this is the act Mr. Gandhi imputes in the Congress resolution which we have just read), in regard to Turkey and the Khilafat question; so let us read the exact pledge:

> Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race. . . . While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople—the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalized and neutralized—Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions.

Now there were two different demands made in behalf of Turkey. The first, signed by such eminent Moslems as H. H. Aga Khan, made claims for only those countries occupied by Turks, which was in accord with Mr. Lloyd George's declaration. But Gandhi, who deliberately slandered and impugned Mr. Lloyd George, demanded not only what the Turks didn't ask for themselves, but even insisted upon the evacuation of Egypt by England as a Khilafat claim. Mr. Gandhi is untroubled by the fact that Egypt had repudiated the Khalif's authority even as Turkey was to do! As Sir Sankaran Nair states:

> But so far as Gandhi is concerned the position is quite clear. He puts forward whichever is the most extreme demand made by the Khilafat party without any enquiry as to their reasonableness. . . . He knows, I presume, that Egypt has repudiated the Caliph's authority. He was not apparently aware that the Arabs will not recognize the supremacy of any Turkish power. But this is no difficulty to him. . . . That Syria is not under England did not matter. . . . He fails to appreciate the weight of what appears to be an insuperable objection, that the Turks do not want any domination over Arabia, but, as they had said in their deputation (twenty months before Mr. Gandhi's declaration), only wanted to be left alone with economic and political independence in their own ethnological area. Neither Mr. Gandhi nor

> the Khilafat advocates show any realization of this fact. With a light heart they maintain that the question is not Turkish but Mohammedan and therefore Turkish opinion alone cannot decide the question. Palestine, of course, according to Mr. Gandhi, must be under Turkish sovereignty.*

Although the Turkish Government even refused to receive an embassy from the Indian Khilafat movers, Gandhi kept right on making demands on England for Turkey. He did not let up when the Turks abolished the Khalif. At the Khilafat Conference in Karachi, July, 1921, a seditious resolution, sponsored by Gandhi, was drawn up, calling upon the Moslem soldiers in the Indian army to desert in the name of their religion. To quote again Sir Sankaran Nair:

> The two brothers [the Ali brothers, Gandhi's confederates] were tried and convicted by the ordinary civil courts . . . [during the trial] they openly gloried in their hatred of the Government of India and the British name. They justified the above resolution by the religious law of the Koran which they said the Mussulmans are bound to follow even when opposed to the law of the land. . . . It is impossible to believe that Gandhi and his adherents are not aware that this claim of the Mohammedans, to be judged by the law of the Koran, is a claim which is the *fons et origo* of all Khilafat claims of whatever kind. Not only does the acceptance of the claim mean the death-knell of the British Empire or Indo-British commonwealth . . . but specifically as regards India it means a real denial of Swaraj. *For it involves Mohammedan rule and Hindu subjection or Hindu Rule and Mohammedan subjection.* Let there be no mistake about this, no camouflage.†

Mr. Gandhi's campaign drenched the Malabar coast in blood, beginning the month after the Karachi resolution when the Moslem Moplahs put into practice the teachings of the Koran, subjection of all non-believers, and slaughtered thousands of Hindus.

> The horrid tragedy continued for months. Thousands of Mohammedans killed and wounded by troops, thousands of Hindus butchered, women subjected to shameful indignities, thousands forcibly converted, persons flayed alive, entire families burnt alive, women, it is said hun-

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*Sankaran Nair, "Gandhi and Anarchy," pages 31–32.
†*Ibid.*, pages 35–6.

> dreds, throwing themselves into wells to avoid dishonor, violence and terrorism, threatening death standing in the way of reversion to their own religion. This is what Malabar in particular owes to the Khilafat agitation, to Gandhi and his Hindu friends.*

Yet it is the Khilafat question that Mr. Gandhi places foremost as the justification of Swaraj, or Home Rule, and it is on such "moral grounds" that he bases the justification of his course.

The Moplah atrocities were followed by savage and gory rioting in Bombay when the Prince of Wales arrived on a visit to India, and a little later twenty Indian policemen were driven into their station-house at Chauri Chaura, where they were besieged by several thousand rebels, incited by Gandhi's teachings, and their refuge set on fire; as the unfortunate police rushed from the burning structure, they were beaten to death by Gandhi's "non-violent" disciples or thrust back into the flames. Gandhi was horrified, so much so that he fasted for five days, but, with curious resilience, returned to his incitements immediately after the five-day fast expired. The government notified him that they could no longer countenance his sedition and the resulting deaths of British and Indians, and that he would be arrested in a few hours.

In the resulting trial Gandhi acknowledged all the charges against him. He asked no mercy and expressed no regret. The judge consulted with the prisoner as to sentence and Gandhi approved a six-year sentence and expressed his gratification at having been classed with such a patriot as Tilak, who had been convicted and sentenced to a similar term. Due to illness, Gandhi's term was remitted, but he seemingly vanished from politics until 1929, when he returned to the front pages of newspapers throughout the world. His subsequent actions are well known.

The Minor Minorities

The minor minorities are numerous. There are the "Untouchable" group that want British rule and protection; the

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*Sankaran Nair, page 47.

Communists, led by the younger Nehru, who want to seize the national railways and banks and repudiate all debts; the Brahmo Samaj, founded a century ago by Ram Mohun Roy, who fought to free himself and his followers from the fetters of Hindu orthodoxy; the Arya Samaj, a movement of more popular appeal begun by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, which seeks to re-establish as absolute and divine the civil and religious laws of the ancient Vedas; the Ahmadijya, a movement for Islam reformation; and the group, headed by Tagore, who despises Eastern idolatry and yet abhors Western education, who admire Gandhi and yet do not believe in non-co-operation but in the co-operation of all nations of the world in universal brotherhood. Only the future can decide whether any one of these or other minority factions will ever develop into a majority movement.

CHAPTER XII

PITH OF THE PROBLEM

India needs evolution, not revolution. It is not possible for these collections of peoples to take their place as a national entity in the commercial and congressional affairs of the world until these peoples themselves build up their physical and mental stamina. This stamina can be acquired only by evolutionizing their own social and religious laws.

A people bred in the bones of children, born of children, nourished and trained by children, cannot have the physical and mental vitality to construct and maintain a government that is a secure economic unit. The social and religious laws of 70 per cent of the Indian people demand such breeding and such training.

A people may be shrewd and intelligent although illiterate, but when only 8 per cent of 320,000,000 are primarily literate in any one of 222 vernaculars and less than 1 per cent are literate in one international tongue, and when 90 per cent of this vast populace live in rural communities scattered over almost 2,000,000 square miles, a representative and responsible democracy is not possible.

The credits and debits of a nation depend upon the solvency of its resources in the markets of the world. A country may have the richest natural assets, the most fertile soils, and yet be unable to participate in world commerce unless there exists a governing body that can stabilize its monetary unit by the steady flow of exports and imports. This stability depends upon the country's ability to hold its frontiers firm and its internal affairs constant. This necessitates physical power as well as mental force. There is not a single group or combination of groups in all native India that possesses the constructive capacity and the stalwart strength to maintain a national government in peace, much less in prosperity.

I believe these conclusions to be self-evident.

Together we have retraced, by figurative aeroplane, the ambitions, the contentions, the victories and the downfalls of the many and diverse races which have ruled India and bred the peoples who now live in the land. We have followed swiftly the paths of history that have brought us directly into the problems and feuds of to-day. We have seen the intriguing and ruthless injections of that past into the present like so many fingers, penetrating frequently half-way into the intellects, three-quarters into the customs, and ofttimes entirely into the creeds of the inhabitants. We have assorted and qualified India's confusing contradictions and incredible inconsistencies as we travelled.

Now that you have gained this acquaintanceship, it is fair that I offer you a summary of the evidence on which I base my conclusions. You who have journeyed the lengths and breadths of the vast subcontinent, may then pilot your own course across the huge gulf that stretches between knowledge and understanding, and with fairness and appreciation adjudge the art, gauge the growth and censor the canons of the Indian peoples.

The Physical Problem

One of the principal origins of the poverty of physical strength is child-marriage. This practice is not confined to certain communities but is the stringent law of the social system and religious alliance that are incorporated in Hinduism and is the accepted act of those Moslems who lean to the teachings of the Hadis, one of the four sources of Islamic Law. Anyone who doubts that pre-puberty marriage is still held to be a sacred Hindu obligation should read the Report of the Age of Consent Committee, a body of nine Indians and one English woman doctor, who investigated sentiment throughout India.* On pages 99 and 100 of this report are listed the "Objections to the Law of Consent and to a Law of Marriage," as follows:

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*The Report is an official Government of India publication, and is obtainable from the Government of India Central Publication Branch, 3, Government Place, West, Calcutta.

> Grounds of objections.—The opposition to any Law of Consent or an increase in the age of Consent and to a Law of Marriage has proceeded mainly on the following grounds:
>
> (1) That no law should encroach upon matters of domestic and social nature and that the proposed reform should be left to the community concerned, to be dealt with by means of social propaganda or otherwise. Resort to legislation would only be justifiable on a demand by the community affected.
>
> (2) That the Government, being foreign, is neither competent nor entitled to force such a law on persons of a different race and religion, and that such an interference would mean a violation of the pledge about neutrality in matters of religion referred to in the Queen's Proclamation [of 1858].
>
> (3) That the existing Legislature is not representative of the people of India.*
>
> (4) That the Legislature being composed of different communities, no legislation affecting the social rights or religious customs of any particular community ought to be undertaken by a body of that description.
>
> (5) That the proposed increase in the age of Consent within marital relations, as also a law fixing a minimum age of Marriage, would interfere with the religious laws, rights and customs both of Hindus and Muslims; that among Brahmins and some other castes, post-puberty marriage is a sin and that the non-consummation of marriage within sixteen days of the wife's first menses is also a sin; that Government would not be justified in putting people of these castes in a position where they may have to transgress either the religious custom or the Laws of Consent and Marriage.
>
> (6) That puberty is a natural indication of a girl's fitness for cohabitation and maternity; that maternity soon after puberty has so far not been productive of any evil to mothers or their progeny and that maternal and infantile mortality is due to economic and other causes.
>
> (7) That consummation soon after puberty is necessary to satisfy the sexual craving in girls; if the same is not satisfied, girls may be led to abnormal methods of satisfaction. The morality of boys and girls may thus suffer, as is shown by examples from foreign countries described by Judge Lindsey of Denver and others.
>
> (8) That interference by Government with religious customs would create dissatisfaction amongst the people.

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*This objection is not intended to deny the fact that 104 of the 145 members are elected by the Indians.

(9) That early marriage secures the girl's unadulterated love towards the husband and the other members of his family and preserves the Joint Family.

(10) That legislation fixing the age of Consent derogates from the rights conferred upon the husband by marriage.

(11) That no law is necessary, as the age of marriage and consummation is gradually rising as a result of conscious effort or by force of economic circumstances.

(12) The law has been amended in 1925 and no circumstances exist to justify an advance so soon thereafter.

(13) That the law is liable to be abused.

(14) That the Law of Consent has so far been a dead letter in marital cases and would continue to be so, even if the age be raised, and that such a futile law should not encumber the statute book.

The basic laws of Hindu orthodoxy not only have drained the blood corpuscles and impoverished the bone-structure of the Indian peoples for centuries by child-marriage and child-maternity but have undermined the development of maintenance of health and hygiene by appalling conceptions of cleanliness and purity which, to the Hindu mind, are not questions of absence of filth and infection but a question of caste. The contact or touch of any man of lower caste contaminates the food and person of a Hindu, while food prepared by a man of the same caste is "clean," no matter how unclean it may be according to sanitary standards or chemical tests, while the excretions and refuse of holy animals and sacred streams are believed to be not only pure but purifying.

The fighting of plague, cholera, typhoid and malaria has often resulted in the murder, by mobs, of the men employed to kill rats, lice, mosquitoes and other carriers of filth and disease, because of the fervid Hindu belief that it is sinful to destroy any form of animal life, no matter how dangerous to mankind.

A woman in confinement is considered "unclean" and the sufferer from disease is believed to be visited by the malady because of sin. Treatment and nursing are therefore a matter for the lowest castes, or those considered "unclean" themselves, the "Untouchables," and not for trained experts.

Practice of certain Hindu religious rituals drains the vitality, particularly of boys, while caste laws forbid a change of occupation even if the type of work demanded by the caste of the individual is detrimental to his health. Physical labor and agricultural work are scorned and sedentary occupation is encouraged by caste prestige.

Only cereal foods are permitted, meats of all kinds being strictly banned to Hindus, and green vegetables and fruits are not relished or grown to any extent.

As Mr. Thompson points out:

> As long as Hinduism is beset with food taboos, as long as the country supports half as many oxen as human beings—151,000,000 cattle, among them millions of worthless cows, to 247,000,000 people,* and exceedingly few that by Western standards are worth their keep—as long as cattle diseases must run their course, because religion forbids the destruction of any cow, however sick or dangerous; as long as the land is starved century after century and the manure all used for fuel (the making of dung-cakes being the main occupation, along with cooking, and bearing and rearing children, of the majority of Hindu-women); so long there is going to be a starvation level for the teeming population of India.†

Mr. Gandhi, who has "always said that my politics are subservient to my religion"‡ and proclaims "I regard cow protection as the central fact of Hinduism"|| and has held "a cow, for me, is a poem of pity; I worship it and I shall defend its worship against the whole world,"§ is a vehement enemy of all Western ideas of nourishment and treatment. His Confession of Faith proclaims:

> Medical Science is the concentrated essence of Black Magic. Quackery is infinitely preferable to what passes for high medical skill. Hospitals are the instruments that the devil has been using for his own purpose, in order to keep his hold on his kingdom. They perpetuate vice, misery and degradation and real slavery. If there were no hospitals for venereal diseases or none for consumption, we should have less consumption and less sexual vice amongst us.¶

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*Census for British India, 1921.

†"Reconstructing India," pages 336–7.

‡*Young India*, 1924–1926, by Mahatma Gandhi, page 46.

||*Ibid.*, page 55.

§*Ibid.*, page 893.

¶These are the 10th and 11th Articles of Gandhi's Confession of Faith, page 85 of "Mahatma Gandhi, His Life, Writings and Speeches."

But while Mr. Gandhi, beneficiary of Western university and legal training, is striving with all his heart and might to throw India back into the depths of the Vedic Ages, preaching that "India's salvation consists in unlearning what she has learnt during the past fifty years; the railways, telegraphs, hospitals, lawyers, doctors and such like have all to go," and teaching the barbarous and dishonest doctrine that "railways are carriers of bubonic plague" and "have increased the frequency of famine and accentuate the evil nature of man" (in spite of scientific testimony that rats are carriers of plague and of statistical evidence that there has been no famine in India for thirty years), the women's movement is proving to be the real key of progress, in spite of the fact that in 1921 only one woman in fifty in British India could read or write.*

Let us read from an entirely Indian report, "Women in Modern India—Fifteen Papers by Indian Women," what Doctor Rukhmabai, M.D., reports on page 145:

> From the time they attain puberty, numbers of young girls, Hindu and Mohammedan, often just children in instinct and feeling, retire into seclusion. They see no men except those of their own household; they go out veiled or in closed and curtained conveyances when they do go out at all; and even this degree of liberty is denied them under the stricter Purdah conditions. Purdah, the seclusion of girls who have attained puberty, is a Mohammedan institution more rigidly enforced in north India. In that part of the country it has been frequently adopted by the Hindus, especially in Rajputana. It does not prevail at all among south Indian Hindus; or among the people of Maharashtra and a large section of Gujarat, or in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. As a result of this, it is less rigid among the poor Mohammedans of south India. Unfortunately there is a tendency, even at the present day, for communities that have not originally adopted Purdah to do so as a mark of growing social status and prosperity. The Kathiawaris, for instance, have adopted it only in the past fifty years; and doctors working among them have already felt the deplorable physical results of this adoption, the increase of tuberculosis and of early maternal mortality.
>
> Purdah differs very much in the degree of seclusion practised in various parts of the country. At its best and especially among the poor

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*Census for British India, 1921.

classes, women can move about on the public road and go about their outdoor work with a veil over their faces. If rich, they can use curtained conveyances, and social intercourse of a restricted kind is not denied them. Even under such conditions the system is an infliction on the natural dignity of womanhood, and, on the purely physical side, results still in a deplorable lack of air and exercise that will lead to the physical deterioration of the race. On the other hand, Purdah may be so rigid that a woman may, among the poor, be confined to a small house, practically windowless or with openings high up in the walls, and she may not leave the house even to fetch water for household purposes. However poor the household, she can take no share in the work, except for the cooking which she can do indoors. It has been said that a Rajputani may not leave her house to fetch water though the house may be in a jungle and the well in front of it. The experience of doctors working among these Purdah shut-in women is a tragic revelation of numberless cases of tuberculosis, stunted growth, and disease, both among the women themselves and their children.

Now let us turn to the Simon Report:

> In seven provinces out of nine, women may now be members of the legislatures, and women from those provinces can become members of the Legislative Assembly. Already, in several of the provincial councils referred to, a woman member has in fact been nominated; one of these has been unanimously elected by the Madras Legislature as its deputy-president. The women members, we believe, have done useful work as legislators: one of them (the lady just referred to) was responsible for the passage in Madras of the important measure known as the Devadasi Bill, which endeavors to deal with the dedication to temples of girls, most of whom live a life of prostitution.
>
> Side by side with these developments there has begun in recent years a strong movement by bodies of educated Indian women, supported by both Indian and British sympathizers, to urge social reforms which would promote the progress of Indian womanhood. For example, the first All-India Women's Educational Conference, with a European as secretary, met in 1927. The organizers soon discovered that, though the movement had been inspired by the need for educational reform, the social and legal disabilities of Indian women were so closely linked up with educational problems that the scope of the Conference had to be extended to include work touching these subjects, and they now form part of the deliberations of these conferences, which have become an important and influential annual event. Regional meetings of women on similar subjects are being held in many parts of India, and an interesting feature is the absence of any indication of communal friction.

The Seva Saden Society, founded a quarter of a century ago in the Bombay Presidency by Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, is carrying on a great work at many centres with special reference to the training of nurses and midwives, the promotion of maternity and infant welfare, and the finding of employment for widows. Increasing interest is being taken in many places in health centres, and organizations are at work to give some instruction to the untrained dais (midwives), who follow their hereditary profession without any knowledge of the principles of aseptic treatment. But the supply of skilled aid for women in sickness is most gravely inadequate to the need. A memorandum placed before the Commission by the "National Association for supplying medical aid by women to the women of India," which manages the Countess of Dufferin's fund, and which formed the Women's Medical Service for India in 1914, states that there are about 400 women doctors working in India with registrable qualifications, of whom 150 are working under missionary societies.

There is an excess of males over females in the population of India amounting, according to the last census, to almost 9,000,000. The gap is at its widest in the age-groups ten to twenty and may be not unconnected with social customs and practices such as purdah and early marriage and unskilful midwifery which seriously affect the vitality of so many Indian women. Moreover, among the lower classes, many women often have to undertake physical toil as hard as the work of the men. It will be a matter of great interest and importance to observe whether the increasing attention which is now being given to women's questions, and the emergence of a body of opinion among educated women in India which is determined to improve the conditions of female life, do not result in an alteration of the figures for the better.

Notwithstanding the good work that is being done in women's hospitals at certain centres, and the organization of nursing associations, the maternal mortality in India stands at a very high figure. As for infant mortality, the ratio of deaths under one year per thousand births is recorded as 189 (as against a figure of 70 for England and Wales). It is manifest, therefore, that, with the subject of public health entrusted to Indian Ministers in the provinces, the arousing of interest among Indian women themselves to promote improvement in these matters is an event of the greatest importance.

The interest of educated India has been so much concentrated on purely political issues that the attention now being given to social questions, like those arising out of purdah and early marriage, is the more impressive and significant. Although the leaders in these women's organizations are among the select few, they are helping to bring about a striking change in opinion, and the movement towards reform in questions relating to women is widespread. Their movement is powerfully backed by progressive minds among India's political leaders. The feeling against purdah is fast gaining ground. It is a system which has pressed least hardly on the very rich who can afford to provide adequate separate space for the ladies of their households; medical reports show how terribly it eats into the vitality of less fortunate women who are shut up with small accommodation. The gathering force of the movement against child marriage is a still more significant symptom, for it has developed in the face of much opposition from the orthodox and in spite of an ancient tradition widely observed both by Hindus and Mohammedans. The census of 1921 showed that over 2,000,000 girls were married, and 100,000 were widows, before the age of ten. Hence the importance of the Sarda Act just passed by the Indian Legislature. If this law, penalizing marriage until the wife is fourteen and the husband is eighteen, is adequately observed and enforced, one of its results will be a great impetus to girls' education.*

These numerous causes of physical depletion do not apply to the same extent to 30 per cent of the Indian population as to the 70 per cent that are Hindus. Of this 30 per cent, 70 per cent are Mohammedans, 11 per cent Buddhists, 3 per cent Sikhs, 3 per cent Christian converts and 13 per cent are divided into a variety of creeds. The Buddhists are eliminated from consideration of the Indian problem, as 96 per cent are Burmese who are racially, religiously and politically anti-Indian. The Province of Burma will soon be separated from India, as its political linking was only a temporary expediency. The Christian converts are drawn almost entirely from the "Untouchables," the lowest Hindu caste. The physical characteristics of the Moslems and Sikhs, or 73 per cent of this minority, are therefore to be considered.

The marriage laws and concepts of sanitation of these two religious and social systems have little in common with Hinduism. Caste and its rules of purity and pollution are abhorred, while child-marriage is rare and infant-marriage non-existent. The Moslem creed is democratic, every man having equal rights in society and religion.

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*Simon Commission Report, vol. I, pages 49–52.

> The Moslem Law does not fix any age for marriage and recognizes the right of a girl to marry at any time. According to the Shafei Law, no relative, except a father or paternal grandfather, has the power of contracting in marriage a boy or girl under the age of puberty; but under the Hanafi Law, where there is no father or paternal grandfather, any other guardian of a girl has also authority to marry a girl during her minority (pre-puberty). Except where the marriage is celebrated by the father or grandfather, who is naturally expected to study the interests of the girl as much as the girl herself, a girl has, however, the power to repudiate her marriage on attaining puberty, which in the absence of other evidence is presumed in law to be attained on the completion of the fifteenth year. Among the Qadiani and certain other sects, even a marriage celebrated by the father and grandfather can be repudiated by a girl on attaining puberty.
>
> The marriage of a minor girl by a guardian is virtually an exception, and is not encouraged by the Moslem Law; and many of the Moslem witnesses have recognized the evil of early marriage and early consummation.*
>
> It is conceded by the theologians examined before this Committee, that there is no express provision in the Koran enjoining the celebration of marriage or the bringing about of consummation at any particular age. . . . The Hadises are quoted to show that the Prophet preferred marriages soon after puberty, but there are some other Hadises from which it may safely be concluded that marriages after the age of discretion were preferred by the Prophet.†
>
> It may be noted that according to Moslem Law, marriage is not merely a civil contract but is an act enjoined by religion, the object of which is the procreation of "Aulade Saleh," meaning by that expression progeny fit to serve God and His Creatures.‡

It is thus seen that Moslem Law does not require consummation as a purification of the girl as does Hindu Law. Therefore Moslem child-nuptials are exceptional, the girls usually marrying at about the same age as do our Southern Latin races.

While Moslem women are handicapped by "purdah" restrictions, their illnesses are far better treated and their religious laws, while allowing four wives to each man who is able to provide for them, do not permit practices in temples and during fêtes which endanger the health with venereal diseases as in the case of Hinduism.

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*The Report of the Age of Consent Committee, pages 216–17.

†*Ibid.*, page 112.

‡*Ibid.*, page 113.

Moslem foods are unrestricted except as regards the flesh of pigs, which may not be eaten, and the Islamic religion in no way induces emasculation. These characteristics apply also to the Sikhs.

A striking example of their physical activity is demonstrated in the army personnel. The Indian army consists of 60,000 British and 158,200 recruited Indian troops. Subtracting from these 158,000 the 6,000 Burmese and 19,000 Gurkhas who come from the neighboring State of Nepal for service as professional soldiers, 133,000 are enlisted from India proper. Of this number 86,000, or 65 per cent, are recruits from the Punjab, which is one of the two Provinces of British India in which Moslems are in majority. In its confines live the greater portion of all the Sikhs in India.

This predominating proportion of enlistments from the Punjab can be attributed only to physique and inclination, for the Hindu religion places no restrictions on the taking of life of non-Hindus. It does forbid the killing of Hindus and all animals in which, they believe, dwell the souls of Hindus in various incarnations.

This greater physical power of 30 per cent of the population, instead of being used as an asset to increase the stamina of the weaker peoples, is the cause of dissension and feud. Hindus do not inbreed with the stronger elements, because of religious and social statutes and antagonisms. The bitter contentions between Hindus and Moslems decrease the number of inhabitants by constant bloodshed, the greater number of Hindus and the greater strength of the Moslems making the struggle, to a certain extent, equal. This separation of race is irrevocable and irreconcilable. The physical power of India as a whole is therefore not increased by this greater vigor of the minority.

The death rate of the 70 per cent so pulls down the death rate of the minority that the average life of the peoples is calculated to be twenty-three years, according to Doctor Hariprasad* and Mr. Gupta.†

**Young India*, November 5, 1925, page 375.

†"The Foundations of National Progress," page 20.

Mr. Gupta is one of the comparatively few Hindus who recognize that the physical poverty of his race is due mainly to the social laws of Hinduism. He declares:

> The direct and powerful connection of health with social laws and customs is also universally admitted. That the disintegrating and unscientific bases of our social system are to a great extent responsible for our physical enervation and degeneration must be realized by all impartial observers. Even as against the Mohammedans the Hindus are steadily losing ground, and in his little pamphlet, "A Dying Race," Doctor U. N. Mookherji has drawn a very gloomy picture of the future of the Hindu community. He points out how from the evidence of each successive census the superiority of the fecundity and virility of the Mohammedan over the Hindu is amply demonstrated. Doctor Mookherji attributes the decadence of the Hindus to their social usages, specially child marriage and enforced widowhood. There cannot be much doubt that these usages are opposed to the teachings of biological science. . . .
>
> It is sincerely to be hoped that all sections of the people, specially the younger generation, will fully realize their duties of making a firm stand against customs and usages which are tending to perpetuate the physical inferiority of our race. Fortunately powerful forces are at work sweeping away the inertia and stagnation imposed by long custom and the enervation of a tropical climate. Contact with the larger life of the outer world, the struggle for existence, and the stress of economic causes, not to speak of the higher enlightenment born of education and culture, are all combining to change the foundations of our social life.*

Many generations of evolution will be necessary before such firm foundations can be altered. Hinduism to-day contributes the main factors that render the Indian population physically unfit to sustain a stable government even if they could construct one.

The Mental Problem

Aside from the fact that generations upon generations of physical unfitness perforce drain the mental qualities, each of the above causes has a direct bearing on the mental unfitness of the Indian peoples for constructing and sustaining a stable government.

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*"The Foundations of National Progress," page 25.

Child-marriage denies education to half the Hindu population.

> At the last census in 1921 less than one woman in fifty in British India could read and write, and though the number of girls under instruction has increased by 400,000 in the last ten years, far more has been done for boys' than for girls' education. In no province does one girl out of five attend school; in some provinces not one out of twenty or twenty-five. Even more significant are the figures which show how soon the school-days of many girls are over. Four times as many boys as girls attend primary schools; eighteen times as many boys as girls are found in middle schools; and thirty-four times as many in the high schools. Even in the Punjab, where compulsory education has made most headway, it is not applied to girls. There are less than 2,000 women in arts colleges, while the number of men students is over 64,000.*

As we have already noted in the chapter "Bedrock of Nationalism," the literacy percentage of those over twenty years of age remains constant for women at the low figure of 2 per cent, while that for men increases from 14 per cent to 17 per cent. This is additional proof that child-marriage removes girls permanently from schools. Nevertheless, women are enfranchised on the same basis as men.

The caste system inexorably separates the people mentally as well as physically. In orthodox law each caste must keep its own occupation irrespective of talents, wishes or circumstances of the individual. Supply and demand have nothing to do with the number of workers in any particular trade. The dictation of vocation by Hinduism stifles ambition for achievement, as advancement is impossible. This dictum of social status imposes a feudal system upon 70 per cent of the Indian peoples, since the rank or caste into which a man is born is irrevocable. The fetters of Hinduism make freedom or progress impossible. The working castes, usually Sudras, particularly suffer from the self-imposed oppression not of one but of 1,000,000 czars of their co-religionists.

We of the West are under the misapprehension that Mr. Gandhi is attempting to moderate or abolish the caste system and its attendant evils. Sir C. Sankaran Nair, turning the focus of his judicial judgment upon Mr. Gandhi's acts and words, equitably inculpates:

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*Simon Commission Report, vol. I, page 52.

> Mr. Gandhi does not want education to be imparted to the masses and Western education to be imparted to anybody for the reason that it would make them discontented with their present lot in life, i.e., in other words he wants each class to remain in its present condition, the lower castes slaves of their masters—the higher classes. This consequence follows from his acceptance of the caste system.
>
> Gandhi says: "Varanashram [caste system] is inherent in human nature and Hinduism has simply reduced it to a science. It does attach by birth. A man cannot change his Varna by choice. Prohibition against intermarriage and interdining is essential for a rapid evolution of the soul."
>
> He would relegate those Hindus outside the pale of caste, the panchamas or the so-called degraded classes, by whatever name they are called, to degradation for the service of the higher castes. His writings or speeches do not show any knowledge of Indian History and having spent the main portion of his life in a far-off country the evils of the system perhaps never came to his knowledge. Otherwise he would have learnt the following facts. It is this caste system which has brought about the conquest of India by the Mahomedans and the Englishmen, both of whom were always supported by the lower castes against the higher. It is responsible for the large conversions to Christianity and Mahomedanism. It is responsible for a degradation of humanity for which no parallel can be found in slavery, ancient or modern. It is responsible for a good deal of the Hindu-Mahomedan, Brahmin-non-Brahmin problem and stands in the way of our social, economic and political progress. Yet Mr. Gandhi supports the system, though he advocates the removal of one or two blots which hardly affect the main structure.
>
> He enters on an elaborate disquisition on the benefits and necessity of caste which will not do credit to Macaulay's fourth-form schoolboy. He shows no knowledge of the vast literature on the subject or the main arguments against it. He is supporting the caste system to secure the support of the higher castes, without whose financial support his agitation must collapse. One of his own followers would have told him that caste has killed all the arts and sciences in this country. Sir P. C. Ray points out in his history of Hindu chemistry: "the fear of losing caste was thus responsible for the loss of the faculty of independent enquiry and hence for the decline and decay of all the arts and sciences for which India was once so famous."

> Of course Mr. Gandhi does not want that education which is indispensable for those who occupy the higher Government offices in the country. He does not want that education which is essential for the development of Indian manufacturing industries and development of mineral resources.
>
> Mr. Gandhi accordingly made his wicked attempt to destroy the National Hindu University of Benares and the Mahomedan University of Aligarh. They combine Eastern and Western learning. The attempt was happily unsuccessful. . . .
>
> Mr. Gandhi's support of the caste system has won over the higher classes and the reactionary elements of Hindu society to his side. . . . He and his friends . . . have created what threatens to be a permanent gulf between the Mahomedans and non-Mahomedans, and they are dangerously widening the gulf between the Indians and Europeans. The reformers have to improve the conditions of women both amongst the Mahomedans and the Hindus, as without such improvement India is not entitled to take her place among civilized nations. They have practically to get rid of the caste system, as with such a cancer political progress is impossible. Mr. Gandhi, on the other hand, panders to Mahomedan vanity and justifies the racial differences as between different classes of Hindus. He insists upon the necessity of our going back to our own caste system, which is responsible for the condition of our women and of the lower classes. He has given a handle to those who want to maintain the repressive laws, and is really responsible for the retention of them. He has not only thrown doubts as to our fitness for Self-Government but has rendered it possible for our opponents to urge with plausibility that danger would accrue to the Empire and to India itself by granting Home Rule to India. He has thus to the best of his sinister ability attempted to prevent all reforms and has tried to paralyze all the efforts of the reformers in every direction, fomenting racial and class differences, as I have already explained.*

If this separation of the peoples were for the purpose of better uniting the component sections into a working whole, there would be a possibility of success for India as an economic entity. But partition and segregation is the ultimate desire of caste, an end in itself.

The Hindu mentality sees no object in change, and admits no possibility of progress. This is no foundation for constructive thought either in social, industrial or commercial enterprise, all three of which are necessary integrals of economic

*"Gandhi and Anarchy," pages 67–70, XIII, 119–20.

or governmental unity. The basic thought structure, by reason of social and religious training, rests upon static ideals and static requirements. This is conducive to meditative opinion but prohibitive of constructive conception.

This meditative, non-constructive reasoning predominates the intellects of highest development, with the rarest of exceptions, as well as those of average intelligence. Three notable Hindus who are vivid examples are Buddha, Tagore and Gandhi.

Gautama Buddha was a reformer of Hinduism. Five hundred years before the birth of Christ, he sat under a Bo-tree at Sarnath meditating until he was able to rise above the facts of life by achieving mental detachment. His code of discipline was idealistic and his system of doctrine high. His accomplishment and teaching was the lifting of mind *above* matter, not the application of mind *to* matter. Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, writer of charming verse of a sensuous and romantic nature in his youth, and of a more idealistic and spiritual sort in his maturity, has given many beautiful thoughts and expressions to the world; upheld child-marriage; and supported Aruvedic treatment of disease.* He has instituted a school in Bengal, subsidized largely by Europeans and Americans, but he has given nothing of a constructive nature to his people. Mo-

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*Aruvedic, or ancient Hindu system of medicine, is held to have been taught by the gods in Vedic days and therefore is believed to be of divine origin. It is practised throughout India to-day. We may estimate its merits by reading from the Sushruta Samhita (as translated by Kaviraj Kunja Lal Bishagratna, page 270): "The favorable or unfavorable termination of a disease may be predicted from the appearance, speech, dress and demeanor of the messenger sent to call on a physician, or from the nature of the asterism and the lunar phase marking the time of the arrival, or from the direction of the wind blowing at the time, or from the nature of omens seen by him on the road, or from the posture or speech of the physician himself. A messenger belonging to the same caste as the patient himself should be regardd as an auspicious omen, whereas one from a different caste would indicate a fatal or an unfavorable termination of the disease." Aruvedic practice is held to-day to be far superior to the methods of Western science. Major-General Sir Patrick Hehir, I.M.S., in his book, "The Medical Profession in India" (1923), is most enlightening as to Aruvedic treatments. One excerpt from his work, that typifies Aruvedic remedies, states: "One searches in vain for anything approaching definite and rational therapeutics in this system. We have in a *modern* Aruvedic work a complex combination of drugs extolled as being able to cure such diverse conditions as obesity and gonorrhea, and another extensive combination alleged to effect a cure in all diseases of women however caused." On the same page (104) Sir Patrick Hehir says: "One of the principles of the system is that diseases are the result of the operations of evil spirits who have to be pacified by various offerings and propitiated by incantations."

handas Gandhi, trained in one of the most distinguished colleges of law in England, has had an active career in the leading of rebellions with consequent compromise settlements. Whether in spite of, or because of, his experienced legal mind, he has not drawn up a charter for a self-governed India. He has proposed no articles for a constitution, advocated no active reform, and supported no national industry save hand weaving. He has not grappled with the economic or social problems of India. He has encouraged and assisted the stoppage of industry, not the working of Indian mills; dissension, not unity; the breaking of laws, not the building of new statutes. His programme is destructive, not constructive.

How can India succeed as a national entity so handicapped by physical weakness and mental inertia and so pinioned by leaders who, having enjoyed the benefit of Western culture, delude their followers by such falsities as "Illiteracy is increasing, due to the decay of the village schools, the result of a deliberate Government policy"* and "We rightly charge the English rulers for our helplessness and lack of initiative and originality"?† As Sir Sankaran Nair imputes: "Mr. Gandhi will never be forgiven by all true lovers of sound National Education for India, for the campaign he has carried on against real education."‡

There are a few notable Indians who recognize the crying necessity for revolutionizing the mental outlook of the Indian peoples. Among these are J. M. Sen Gupta, chairman of the Reception Committee of the National Congress in 1928 and recent mayor of Calcutta, who deplores:

> Slavish worship of the past, communal dissensions, caste, the purdah, polygamy, early marriage, and other cankers of the body politic are responsible for our failure. We live a life divided into compartments; our patriotism is communal; our unity amounts to mere juxtaposition. Steeped in the prejudices of a medieval age, with half the nation losing its vitality behind the purdah, and in turn devitalizing the other half;

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*"Three Wise Men of the East," by Arthur J. Todd, who thus quotes Mr. Gandhi.

†*Young India,* March 25, 1926, page 112.

‡"Gandhi and Anarchy," page 116.

> disintegrated by warring castes and creeds which condemn a population more than that of the United Kingdom or Japan as "Untouchables" whose shadow it is pollution to tread; can we ever expect that we shall be able to bear upon Britain the necessary pressure? . . . The entire social fabric requires a thorough overhauling, and has to be revolutionized.

To change the whole basic measure of values in the social classifications and religious canons of a people three times the population of the United States, infused with these standards since centuries before Christ, is a colossal programme. Yet from an economic and political standpoint, it is obligatory before the Indian peoples can participate in the affairs of the world on the same stratum as England and the United States. The world will deal with India, though its peoples believe in idols and fall down before images, as it deals with Japan. The nation will not have the world's approval, but it will have the world's recognition and the world's trade when it can hold stable the rupee, the Indian monetary unit. The only way to secure this achievement is to acquire the physical and mental stamina to construct and maintain a government that will protect and induce a steady flow of exports and imports.

The economic and political needs of India are self-evident. To the earnest student and philosophic analyst, the very salvation and conservation of the Indian races seem to depend on the evolution of Indian standards.

Question of Security

Security of India is bifurcate: external defense and internal preservation of peace. Fifty-two per cent of the total central revenue, or almost 25 per cent of the central and provincial revenue of the country taken together, is spent for defense. While the proportion of expenditure seems exceptional, the unremitting danger of attacks from without and assaults from within are unparalleled.

EXTERNAL DEFENSE

The major portion of the defense disbursement is required for the protection of the North-West frontier from incursions, seventy-two attempts to invade the Khyber having been repulsed in the past seventy-two years. Expensive as this possibly appears,* the cost is comparatively small when contrasted with the sums which would be necessary if the actual military power were not effectively substantiated by the bulwark of British prestige. Those years when the authority of Great Britain was threatened, during the Crimean, South African and World Wars, for instance, the attempted ingressions were strongest and greatest in number. Also, during the years of the Russo-Japanese War, when the defeat of a great European power by an Asiatic people stirred the non-white races to fresh efforts, the attempts were unusually vigorous.

History testifies that the Khyber has been the key to India down the ages. India's political destiny has hinged on the control of the Pass† since the beginnings of recorded eras. Notwithstanding the vast millions of Indian peoples, time and again comparatively small tribes or armies of invaders have forced the passage of the Khyber's gorge and fought their way into the plains, where they have established themselves as conquerors. Every race that has ruled India during the past four thousand years, except the British, has come through the gash of the Khyber, the only break in the 2,000-mile Himalayan wall which shuts India from the rest of Asia. Until the time of Akbar, all of India's Mohammedan rulers had their native thrones in central Asia and were Kings of Afghanistan and Samarkand, and even Akbar and his Moghul descendants derived the main strength of their war-power from their Pathan and Afghan tribesmen. All through the nineteenth century the threat of the Russian Bear lay a heavy shadow over the British suzerainty in India. To-day a Russian capital, Tashkent, in Russian Turkestan, is nearer Peshawar, the guardian of the Khyber, than Delhi, the Indian capital. Bombay and Calcutta are twice as far from Peshawar as Peshawar is from Tashkent.

Although central Asia and the belt of unorganized territory that surrounds the Pass are thronged with barbarous hillmen who kill for joy and slaughter for lust, and guerilla tribesmen of iron courage and ferocious pursuits, all of whom regard the tilling of the soil as woman's work, Mr. Gandhi has announced the perfect solution for securing peace for India by turning these fierce free-booters into spinners of yarn! The following, that I take from Sir Sankaran Nair's volume, appeared in *The Daily Express*, from which the author quotes:

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*The annual aggregate cost of external and internal defense amounts to less than 60 cents per capita.

†I speak inclusively of the Khyber corridor itself and the six adjacent passes which cut through the nearby hills.

> *Question:* Are you anxious to take over the whole control of the army at once or would you make an exception of that object?
>
> *Mr. Gandhi:* I think we are entirely ready to take up the whole control of the army, which means practically disbanding three-fourths of it. I would keep just enough to police India.
>
> *Q.:* If the army were reduced to that extent, do you not apprehend anything aggressive from the frontier territories?
>
> *A.:* No.
>
> *Q.:* My information, derived from military sources, is that there are over half-a-million armed men on the frontier.
>
> *A.:* You are right, I agree.
>
> *Q.:* These tribes have frequently attacked India hitherto. Why do you think they will refrain from doing so when India possesses Home Rule?
>
> *A.:* In the first instance, the world's views have changed, and, secondly, the preparations that are now made in Afghanistan are really in support of the Khilafat. But when the Khilafat question is out of the way, then the Afghan people will not have any design on India. The warrior tribes who live on loot and plunder are given lakhs of rupees as subsidy. I would also give them a little subsidy. When the Charka comes into force in India, I would introduce the spinning wheel among the Afghan tribes also and thus prevent them from attacking the Indian territories. I feel that the tribesmen are in their own way God-fearing people.
>
> [Sir Sankaran comments]: But for the fact that he is well known to be a Saint and a Mahatma, I would have had no hesitation in saying that his last observations about meeting the Afghans show him to be either a fool or a knave.*

Mr. Gandhi forgets that the Asian menace has existed, without interruption, for thousands of years before and ever since the ebullition of the Khilafat demands.

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*"Gandhi and Anarchy," pages 61–2.

Asian Russia and Western China are to-day filled with fierce, barbarian tribes who roam their steppes and arid stretches ever on the alert to sweep into the fertile plains of India for plunder of fields and loot of cities. India is a great treasure store, its fabulous wealth of cities and luxuriant plains and plateaus, the greatest belts of greenery in all Asia, being a constant lure. The threat of invasion is never absent. Expenditure of India's revenue for defense is an urgent demand that cannot be lessened, whoever governs India, and certainly would be increased were the British moral and actual support withdrawn.

What does India pay for this protection? Nothing, save the upkeep of the 60,000 British soldiers who are stationed in controversial areas within the country, assisting, supervising, or training the Indian army. The cost of 60,000 troops is infinitesimal when distributed among 320,000,000 people. The government buys the mechanization supplies of the army from England, for armored cars, mechanical transport and aeroplanes are not manufactured in India. If they were, the cost would be greater than the purchase price in Great Britain because of small production and natural lack of metals. While these are sources of export for England, they are not extra expenses for India. India is seventh on the list of armament expenditure of nations, following the United States, Great Britain, Russia, France, Italy and Japan, although her peoples are one-fifth of the world's population and her country the only one continually at war on her frontiers. This clearly demonstrates that the British are not exploiting the defense of India.

British prestige is an actual bulwark. The recognition that the British Navy and Air Force are ready to render authoritative support as well as moral assistance at any time the boundaries of India are threatened, is protection in itself. To build up such defensive powers would require huge financial outlays as well as training of forces.

With Indian per-capita taxes amounting to only one-fifteenth of the per-capita taxes of the United States, and 52 per cent of the national revenue being expended mainly for safeguarding on the northwest frontier, not only would the amounts necessary for protection from the continued menace at her great door of entry be increased by leaps and bounds, but India would be compelled to build a navy for policing and patrolling as well as defending her 6,000-mile coast line. India is not a segregated country but one adjacent to peoples of opposing races and commercial rivalries. Only a very few of the peoples have ever taken to the sea; some of the Mahrattas were once pirates along the Malabar coast and some of the Arabs were bold sailors, but no natives have ever ventured far afield. Thrust out into tropical waters, the position of this great subcontinent does not encourage marine activity. No tropical peoples have ever been potent naval powers.

Great Britain now bears the responsibility of this actual and moral protection from conquests from without. Many Indians cry "The British are not safeguarding us. They are safeguarding their $10,000,000,000 invested in public utilities and industries!" Impartial opinion can but declare that, whatever the motives, India is benefitting economically from British protection and that this stability of frontiers offers rich opportunities for mental and physical advancement, a tremendous advantage for the Indian peoples.

INTERNAL STABILITY

While external threat to India's peaceful development is continuously menacing, internal strife is perpetually destructive. Her entire history until the British imposed their impartial rule is a chronicle of bitter and bloody wars within her borders. Not a single period of comparative peace endured for so long as twenty years until Great Britain enforced it, and to-day the army is not only in constant activity against external dangers of an unparalleled character, but it is habitually used throughout India to maintain and restore internal peace. Troops are required many times each year to quell the disorders and to cope with the violent mobs who are fired to communal fighting by religious frenzy. As the Statutory Commission reports:

> India is a country in which the wildest and most improbable stories of outrage or insult spread with amazing rapidity and are widely believed, and inasmuch as the vast majority of the disturbances which call for the intervention of the military have a communal or religious complexion, it is natural and inevitable that the intervention which is most likely to be authoritative should be that which has no bias, real or suspected, to either side. It is a striking fact in this connection that, while in the regular units of the army in India as a whole British soldiers are in a minority of about one to two and one-half, in the troops allotted for internal security the preponderance is reversed, and for this purpose a majority of British troops is employed—in the troops earmarked for internal security the proportion is about eight British to seven Indian soldiers. When, therefore, one contemplates a future for India in which, in place of the existing army organization, the country is defended and pacified by exclusively Indian units, it is essential to realize and bear in mind the dimensions and character of the Indian problem of internal order and the part which the British soldier at present plays (to the general satisfaction of the countryside) in supporting peaceful government. It will of course be understood that the formations which go to make up the field army in war are stationed in various parts of India in peace time and the units which for the time being constitute these formations are consequently available for internal security purposes.*

Considering only the Hindu-Moslem cleavage, police and army records show that religious fanaticism and smoldering race hatred cause ferocious attacks by rival zealots at the slightest provocation. The temporary fusion of Mr. Gandhi's interests with those of the leaders of the Khilafat movement ended with the Moplah atrocities in 1921, and if any one thinks communal amity is prevalent among the masses, he has but to read the listings and brief descriptions of riots and disturbances in the appendix of "Gandhi and Anarchy," or to study the official records of the Legislative Assembly. One report, that was laid before the Indian Parliament, alone shows that in the nine months previous to June, 1928, there were nineteen serious Hindu-Mohammedan riots which affected every province except Madras.† To mention only one more of numerous memo-

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*Statutory Commission Report, vol. I, pages 95–96.
†*Ibid.*, page 27.

randa, the Report of the Bombay Riots Inquiry Committee,* published in August, 1929, shows that at least twenty critical communal riots occurred at brief intervals in various parts of India, the two Bombay riots alone accounting for the deaths of nearly 200 people. It is noteworthy that in Bombay, where racial tension is not nearly so fanatical as in Bengal, the origin of the fighting was in the inflammatory political speeches made by extremist leaders during a textile strike, resulting in the usual outbreak of wild rumors of communal murder, after which the inevitable Hindu-Moslem clash aroused the people to race war.

This constant condition is better realized when one knows it is not a debatable fact but an indisputable truth that this minority of militant Moslems, whose creed binds them to vows to wage war in behalf of their religion and "by the sword spread the Faith," despises the Hindus as impious idolators and image-worshippers, while the Hindus regard the Moslems with pious hatred for the eating of the flesh of sacred cows and the sacrifice of holy animals at Moslem feasts.

A few Mohammedans have joined Gandhi's movement but not one is of Islamic importance. Even the two Ali brothers, for whose allegiance Mr. Gandhi sacrificed thousands of Hindu lives, issued a manifesto saying that Mr. Gandhi was attempting to submerge the Moslem minority under the flood of Hindu majority. The few Moslem allies who still play politics with Mr. Gandhi are already bickering for the power they expect to wield and proclaiming that once the British are expelled, they can settle their differences with the Hindus. Some leaders who once listened to Mr. Gandhi's preachings of non-violence now turn against him as did Mr. Ghuznavi, representative of Moslem interests in the Dacca Rural Division, who recently ended a trenchant speech denouncing Mr. Gandhi, in the Legislative Assembly, by execrating: "We are to-day judging the tree of his [Gandhi's] gospel of non-violence by the burning alive of Moslem policemen for the performance of their duty and the bitter fruits of Sholapur, Karachi, Peshawar, Chittagong, Myamensingh, Dacca and Calcutta." These are all occasions of the murder of Moslems by Gandhi's Hindu followers. As Sir Sankaran Nair comments: "Some politicians who naturally desire to use him and the influence he has acquired for putting pressure on the government to make further concessions, also have joined him. But I am satisfied he is using them all to further his own ends."* The Ali brothers were keen enough politicians themselves to recognize Mr. Gandhi's methods of manipulation.

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*Mr. E. E. Percival, Mirza Muhammed Khan, and Mr. K. M. Jhaveri. This Report, published by the Bombay Government, is obtainable from the High Commissioner of India.

As for the masses, the Moplah massacre, which was the largest uprising of the numerous ghastly butcheries that followed the seditious teachings of Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers in their campaign against the British Government, typifies the "love" between Moslem and Hindu. The Moplahs are Moslem descendants of Arab traders of the olden days who settled on the Malabar coast. They number a million and live in a community of two million Hindus. When they learned of the Khilafat propaganda and the Gandhi-Ali conspiracy to end British rule, the Moplahs secreted weapons and held meetings in mosques, also plotting for "Swaraj," which to their minds meant the return of Moslem rule. Now at the National Congress in Calcutta, in September, 1920, Mr. Gandhi had proclaimed, "If there is sufficient response to my scheme I make bold to reiterate my statement that you can gain Swarajya in the course of a year." His programme demanded boycott of the Councils and the Reforms or extensions to Indians of autonomy according to the Montague-Chelmsford Recommendations, boycott of the Courts, and money contributions from his non-co-operation followers, none of whom are permitted to this day to continue their membership in his Swaraj party without paying dues. On December 29, 1920, January 21, 1921, January 30, 1921, and February 23, 1921, he proclaimed his confidence that Swaraj would be gained as he had announced. Sir Sankaran Nair charges:

*"Gandhi and Anarchy," page 51.

> Such money was paid on the fraudulent representation of Swaraj within the year. . . . Having attained his purpose by a representation, the truth of which I cannot help thinking he did not believe, and could not have believed,* he continued these promises and predictions until he saw that they couldn't be fulfilled, so before the expiry of the one-year period other conditions were imposed which put off Swaraj practically for a very long time to come.†

But the Moplahs down in Malabar didn't know of Mr. Gandhi's political gymnastics, so on August 20, 1921, believing that the year was up and Swaraj Government in control, they began their holy war. They blocked the highways, destroyed the telegraph lines, tore up the railway tracks at strategic points, and then started in to murder the few Europeans and thousands of Hindus isolated from British protection. I concur with Sir Sankaran Nair's sentiments when he writes:

> The result was they took the Hindus unawares and committed atrocities too well known to need recapitulation here—butchered them and inflicted injuries on them far worse than death. For sheer brutality on women, I do not remember anything in history to match the Malabar rebellion. It broke out about the 20th of August. Even by the 6th of September the results were dreadful. The atrocities committed particularly on women are so horrible and unmentionable that I do not propose to refer to them in this book.‡

The moving "Petition of Malabar Ladies to Her Gracious Excellency the Countess of Reading," the wife of the Viceroy, is a soul-stirring and horrifying account, signed by many "bereaved and sorrow-stricken women of Malabar," headed by the senior Rani of Nilambur who belongs to one of the oldest and wealthiest families of Malabar rulers, and relates the ghastly

> horrors and atrocities perpetrated by the fiendish rebels; of the many wells and tanks filled up with the mutilated, but often only half-dead bodies of our nearest and dearest ones who refused to abandon the faith of our fathers; of pregnant mothers cut to pieces and left on the roadsides and in the jungles, with the unborn babe protruding from the

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*"Gandhi and Anarchy," pages 82–86.

†*Ibid.*, page 88.

‡*Ibid.*, page 45.

> mangled corpse; of our innocent and helpless children torn from our arms and done to death before our eyes, and of our husbands and fathers flayed and burnt alive.

These lines are only one-sixteenth of the petition, which is a sickening and appalling memorial to a Moslem holy crusade.

Mrs. Besant, leader of the Indian "Moderates," and ardent advocate of Indian Home Rule, wrote of "Malabar's Agony" that:

> It would be well if Mr. Gandhi could be taken into Malabar to see with his own eyes the ghastly horrors which have been created by his preaching of himself and his "loved brothers," Muhommad and Shaukat Ali. . . . I wish to put on record here the ghastly misery which prevails, the heart-breaking wretchedness which has been caused, directly due to the violent and unscrupulous attacks on the Government made by the Non-Co-operators and the Khilafatists and the statements scattered broadcast, predicting the speedy disappearance of British rule and the establishment of Swaraj. . . . Mr. Gandhi may talk as he pleases about N. C. O.'s accepting no responsibility. It is not what they accept; it is what facts demonstrate. He accepted responsibility for the trifling bloodshed of Bombay. The slaughter in Malabar cries out his responsibility. . . . Mr. Gandhi asks the Moderates to compel the Government to suspend hostilities, i.e., to let loose the wolves to destroy what lives are left. The sympathy of the Moderates, I make bold to say, is not with the murderers, the looters, the ravishers, who have put into practice the teachings of paralyzing the Government of the N. C. O.'s who have made "war on the Government" in their own way. How does Mr. Gandhi like Moplah spirit as shown by one of the prisoners in the hospital who asked the surgeon if he was going to die and the surgeon answered that he feared he would not recover. "Well, I'm glad I killed fourteen infidels," said the brave, God-fearing Moplah whom Mr. Gandhi so much admires, who "are fighting for what they consider as religion and in a manner they consider as religious." Men who consider it "religious" to murder, rape, loot, to kill women and little children, cutting down whole families, have to be put under restraint in any civilized society. . . . These are the victims saved from extermination by British and Indian swords . . . the Government intervened to save their victims and these thousands have been saved. Mr. Gandhi would have hostilities (armed militia in control of the Moplah country) suspended—so that the Moplahs may sweep down on the refugee camps, and finish their work?

As horrible as were the perpetrations on the women, far too terrible to relate further here, the men also underwent brutal butcheries. Those who were not tortured or slain were forcibly converted to Mohammedanism, one of the ceremonies consisting of a peculiarly painful method of circumcision. Those who wish to authenticate my account and can stand blood-curdling and heart-sickening records, may find multitudes of official and commentatory documents in English and vernacular memoranda.

As Lord Reading said, in an address:

> One trembles to think of the consequences if the forces of order had not prevailed for the protection of Calicut [the Moplah country]. The non-Muslim in these parts was fortunate indeed that either he or his family or his house or property came under the protection of the soldiers and the police. . . . But apart from direct responsibility, can it be doubted that when poor unfortunate and deluded people are led to believe that they should disregard the law and defy authority, violence and crime must follow? This outbreak is but another instance on a much more serious scale and among a more turbulent and fanatical people, of the conditions that have manifested themselves at times in various parts of the country and, gentlemen, I ask myself and you and the country generally what else can be the result from instilling such doctrines into the minds of the masses of the people? How can there be peace and tranquillity when ignorant people, who have no means of testing the truth of the inflammatory and too often deliberately false statements made to them, are thus misled by those whose design is to provoke violence and disorder? Passions are thus easily excited to unreasoning fury.
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> Although I freely acknowledge that the leader of the movement to paralyze authority, persistently, and, as I believe, in all earnestness and sincerity, preaches the doctrine of non-violence and has even reproved his followers for resorting to it, yet again and again it has been shown that his doctrine is completely forgotten and his exhortations absolutely disregarded when passions are excited as must inevitably be the consequence among emotional people.
>
> To those who are responsible for the peace and good government of this Great Empire and, I trust, to all men of sanity and common sense in all classes of society, it must be clear that the defiance of the Government and constituted authority can only result in wide-spread disorder, in political chaos, in anarchy and in ruin.

Sir Sankaran Nair "felt that the Government should have stopped the activities of the party [Mr. Gandhi and his followers] from the moment they openly declared their disloyalty . . . they [Government] maintained their silence even after Gandhi . . . challenged the Government to arrest him as he maintained that the conduct of the Ali brothers in tampering with the loyalty of the Sepoy [troops] and uttering sedition was only in pursuance of the policy adopted by himself and the Congress. His words are remarkable. . . . "I must be permitted to take the credit or the odium of suggesting that India had a right openly to tell the Sepoy and every one who served the Government in any capacity whatsoever that he participated in the wrongs done by the Government. Every non-co-operator is pledged to preach disaffection towards the Government established by law. Non-co-operation, though a religious and strictly moral movement, deliberately aims at the overthrow of the Government, and is therefore legally seditious in terms of the Indian Penal Code. But this is no new discovery. Lord Chelmsford knew it. Lord Reading knows it . . . we must reiterate from a thousand platforms the formula of the Ali Brothers regarding the Sepoys, and we must spread disaffection openly and systematically till it pleases the Government to arrest us." It will hardly be believed that even after this no steps were taken against him. Towards the end of the year he said: "Lord Reading must clearly understand that the non-co-operators are at war with the Government. They have declared rebellion against it. . . ."

One of the Moplah leaders when tried for rebellion pleaded that he was under the impression that the British Government no longer ruled the country and had abdicated. There is very little doubt of the unfortunate fact that there was a general belief that the Government was powerless and could be safely defied by Gandhi and his congress.*

For the subduing of such savage uprisings is the Indian Army constantly required. While the Moplah massacres caused the greatest bloodshed in one area, passionate and internecine feuds, on smaller scales but throughout the broader arena of all India, have ceaselessly continued during the ensuing years.

Volcanic strata of racial hatreds underlie the crust of Indian character. Each sect is deeply stirred by rival infringements, each keenly conscious of its past glories of temporal rule and its present strength of solidarity in ranks, each burning with fervent zeal to restore its own religious and political supremacy. Creed and patriotism are fused into race ambition, untempered by any moderating clemency of national brotherhood.

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*"Gandhi and Anarchy," pages 126–128.

Schisms of such ferocity have never been healed in all history. The differences between Christianity and Mohammedanism are not so implacable as those between either of these faiths and Hinduism. The Moorish occupation of Spain, when the Inquisition thrived, is the nearest approach to the situation in India. Yet the Moors were expelled, not assimilated. It is only within the realms of hope that one can picture a condition of tolerance between Moslems and Hindus.

An attempt to form a government before sufficient lenity is gained to reduce these differences to vocal clashes, would bring an onrush of battles from these contentious sects. If the British withdrew their restraining authority, the whole subcontinent would burst into a conflagration of holy wars. The internal history of India is one long welter of immolation and the seeds of compassion are planted in too few Indian hearts, with too little time for the internal growth of fraternal comity, for the peoples to coalesce in national aspirations rather than in communal ambitions. Until this congeries of clans places civic patriotism before religious prejudice, there can be no internal security for a native administration.

Porism of Government

Self-government cannot be granted or imposed from without. It must be gained and developed from within. Indian autonomy has been promised by Great Britain, dependent only on the capacity of the people to co-operate consciously in constructing and administering a representative constitution.

As long ago as the Montague-Chelmsford Recommendations of 1919, the joint authors stated:

> Our conception of the eventual future of India is a sisterhood of States, self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest. . . . Over this congeries of States would preside a Central Government, increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them; dealing with matters, both internal and external, of common interest to the whole of India; acting as arbiter in inter-state relations, and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire. In this picture there is a place also for the Native States.

That some of the Indian States are willing to unite their autocratic realms with the democratic provinces of British India to constitute a federal polity is demonstrated by the pronouncement of the progressive Maharajah of Bikaner to his Legislative Assembly in December, 1929, when he declared:

> I look forward to the day when a United India will be enjoying Dominion Status under the ægis of the King-Emperor and the Princes and States will be in the fullest enjoyment of what is their due—as a solid federal body in a position of absolute equality with the federal provinces of British India. However distant that day may be, we desire in our proposals to do nothing to hinder but everything to help its arrival, for already there are emerging problems that can only be settled satisfactorily by co-operation between British India and the States.

This sentiment was widely endorsed at the Round Table Conference by the most important Indian Princes.

It is not a question, therefore, of Indian right to autonomy or of royal willingness to co-operate, but a doubt of the capacity of the body politic to self-govern. Now the varying and various political parties are vehemently insistent that the time for self-rule has arrived, yet up to the present day only one charter has been proposed by an Indian body. This is the "Nehru Constitution," named in honor of the Pandit Motilal Nehru, President of the Congress and Chairman of the Committee which was appointed by the All-Parties Conference in 1928 in answer to the challenge of the British that India is such a chaos of races, classes and castes, all of mutually antagonistic aspirations, that no plan of self-rule can yet be agreeably acceptable to all sects and sections.

The resulting Report, drawn up by a Committee of seven Hindus, two Moslems and one Sikh, is a decisive demonstration that the British charge is correct. It is fissured with disagreement and flawed by incompetence. It is in effect a series of Minority Reports, scarred with racial and religious implacability. It repulsed the Sikh claims, repudiated not only the Moslem rights but even the Hindu-Moslem pact drawn up by C. R. Das, and was totally unacceptable to any but the extreme political wing of the Hindu community. It was a manifestation of "the old wretched battle between Hindus and Moslems for division of seats and jobs"* and further evidence that "most of these men who are preaching war are really thinking of office and power."†

Not only the Report but the ensuing events proved that Indian political thought is subservient to religion. The Moslems, who had anticipated that the Committee would prove Hindu first and Nationalist afterward, repudiated the Nehru Constitution at an All-India Moslem Conference in December, 1928, and January, 1929. This Congress carried

> resolutions belligerently framed with a brevity that makes them sound like a series of rifle-shots. . . . Among the more interesting items in these uncompromising resolutions are the demand for a federal constitution, the statement that a separate electorate of Moslems is "essential in order to bring into existence a really representative democratic government," and the insistence that "the Moslems should have their due share in the Central and Provincial Cabinets."‡

His Highness the Aga Khan, in his presidential address to the Congress

> brought out the clear, rigid backbone of Moslem agreement, in bitter opposition to the Nehru Constitution, when he said: "It is impossible for Moslems to live happily and peacefully in India if friction and suspicion are to prevail between them and the Hindus; that there can be no prosperity and self-government for India so long as the Moslems are in doubt as to the safety of their cultural entity; that so long as India is dependent on England for protection the latter must continue to claim a dominant share and voice in the Government of India."§

The Sikhs also were wrathful. Although forming only 1 per cent of the total population and a minority of only 11 per cent in the Punjab, these militant peoples, who are the finest fighters in India and who have never forgotten that they ruled the Punjab less than ninety years ago, felt wronged by the Nehru Constitution which, although declaring in Article IV that: "The right of free expression of opinion, as well as the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, and to form associations or unions, is hereby guaranteed for purposes not opposed to public order or morality," conceded a point to the Sikhs, who prefer death to lack of arms, and added, "Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in Article IV, the Sikhs are entitled to carry kirpans."

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*"Reconstructing India," page 180.

†"India, Peace or War?" page 227.

‡"Reconstructing India," page 281.

§During the Round Table Conference in London (1930–1931) the All-India Moslem League opened its session December 30, 1930, by passing a resolution that "While the united efforts of the Moslem members of the London Round Table Conference which are giving faithful expression to Moslem opinion are appreciated, the League strongly supports the resolution passed by the All-India Moslem Conference in January, 1929."

Kirpans are swords. But the wrath of the Sikhs was unappeased. They wanted representation in any government far out of proportion to their 1 per cent.* They marched into Lahore in bodies of thousands, armed with lathis (staves) and carrying spears and curved knives, to the tune of the hoarse chant of their religious invocations. They were there to ruin the Conference that followed the publishing of the Nehru Constitution.

> That they did not do it was thanks to the pluck and patience of a handful of British officials, who must still protect the Congress from disturbance, though in the Congress the name of England or of any official is never mentioned except with contumely.†

The Justice Party, representing the Non-Brahman majority of the Madras Presidency, the Indian Christians, the Liberal Party, were all infuriated by the proposed Constitution and withdrew from the Congress. The Chamber of Princes on their next meeting (February 1929) proclaimed their indignation and put on record that:

> while adhering to their policy of non-intervention in the affairs of British India, and repeating their assurance of sympathy with its con-

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*"At the Round Table Conference in London 1930–1931 the Sikh delegation, representing their belligerent minority of 4,000,000 peoples, was able to blockade and nullify a Hindu-Moslem truce and proposed settlement upon which largely depended the success of the whole scheme to give a new government to the 320,000,000 of all India."—New York *Times*, January 14, 1931.

†"Reconstructing India," page 281. The London *Times* of December 30, 1929, bore a vivid account of the march of the Sikhs.

> tinued political progress, the Princes and Chiefs composing this Chamber, in view of the recent pronouncement of a section of British Indian politicians indicative of a drift towards complete independence, desire to place on record that in the light of the mutual obligations arising from their treaties and engagements with the British Crown they cannot assent to any proposals having for their object the adjustment of equitable relations between the States and British India, unless such proposals proceed upon the initial basis of the British Connexion.

Such was the reception of the sole constitution proposed by Indians for themselves!

Jawaharlal Nehru, son of Pandit Motilal Nehru, returned from Russia in the fall of 1928 filled with Bolshevik ideas and preaching the gospel of the Soviet. He joined Gandhi's campaign and was elected President of the next Congress (December, 1929), where he denounced the Princes as "puppets" and "the products of a vicious system that would have to go," and announced "the complete repudiation of India's national debts." Even the extremist factions led by Mr. J. N. Sen Gupta, and Mr. Subashchandra Bose were in a temper, Mr. Bose finally creating a riotous uproar by assailing the new president's impartiality and integrity. The Congress which opened in violent argument ended in violent action, lathis being freely used and casualties resulting on all sides.

Mr. Bose was sentenced the following month (January, 1930) for leading a procession through the streets of Calcutta waving banners inscribed "Long Live Revolution" and "Up with the Republic," and Mr. Sen Gupta was convicted a little later for seditious action, but not until May, 1930, was Mr. Gandhi, who continued his programme of breaking the laws by staging his "Salt March to the Sea," six weeks after the failure of this Indian Congress to settle any of India's own problems, arrested and confined at Poona.

A typical Indian action was the demand of the Nehru Constitution that the Government accept what the Indians could not persuade their own communities to accept: the Nehru Charter of Self-Rule. While individual members of the body politic have been able to reach compromises, it is remarkable and significant that in *no single case* have these agreements of individuals been accepted by their followings. The Indians can't settle among themselves even the "Cow-Music" problems, i.e., the demand of the Hindus that the Moslems give up the killing and sacrificing of cows and recognize the sanctity of cattle, and the insistence of the Moslems that the Hindus cease their musical processions in front of mosques during religious observances.

Every one of the Indian political parties is destructive, defeatist and revolutionary. The factions unite only when attempting to wreck each other or the British administration, which is incessantly assailed by clamor of many voices from many parties, many sections, and many lands, demanding as equally many courses of contradictory action.

The cause of the cataclysm is not only the refusal of the minority groups and classes to trust their political fates to the hands of the majority, but the vacuity of conception of the cardinal requirements for an organized democracy. As Mr. J. N. Gupta declares, India "has not the saving grace of inherited civic instincts born of the accumulated experience of past efforts —successes and failures."

The history of the rise of civic power, in ancient as well as modern States, gives evidence that all successful federations have been achieved primarily by the steady increase of individual participation in community concerns until the coalescence of group interests has created a distinctive State, and secondarily by the alliance of a number of state units and the partial transference of each state's sovereignty to a co-operating centre, functioning as the responsive and responsible administrative instrument in the common concerns of all its constituents.

In India there is not only little individual participation, but even scant apprehension of community problems; there is only a modicum of allegiance to provincial interests and no structure of distinctive states. Evolution of these requirements is dependent on that essential prerequisite, physical betterment and mental growth. While literacy is not an entirely necessary factor in political capability to evolve a functioning provincial unit, a degree of homogeneous understanding and of analogous aspiration is a vital requirement. Once the State organisms are responsive to the expressed desires of the masses, the advance to complete self-government under a central control can begin. The pace of progress will depend solely on the capacity of the body politic to participate in the responsibilities of self-rule and to co-operate in the processes of federation.

The solution lies within the peoples themselves. As Mr. Gupta states:

> No external power, no political bargaining, can alone help a people in winning the inestimable boon of political freedom. The laws of political evolution are as inexorable as those of the physical world, and to attain true freedom, progress must be internal. With more than 80 per cent of the people steeped in ignorance and struggling against squalid poverty and a prey to decimating diseases and epidemics, it might almost seem a cruel mockery to speak of the rise of an Indian democracy.*

Great Britain has endowed the Indian peoples with the tools of democracy even more rapidly than the people could or would use them. The British have always recognized the unfitness and unfairness of imposing or adapting their own principles of parliamentary machinery, which are suitable to a homogeneous Western people, on an Eastern populace of divergent peoples. The methods of self-determination, evolved during centuries of experiment by an expressive and literate people for their own conditions and their own citizens, cannot be transplanted and automatically established in a country whose long history is one of autocratic régimes, where material conditions and mental habits are peculiarly unique, and whose peoples are inarticulate and illiterate, without chaotic and dangerous consequences. The British have given India a government which is avowedly in a state of transition and have bound themselves to co-operate and assist the Indians in evolving for themselves a federation suitable to their own conditions and their own peoples. It is inexplicably ignored that the British are thus sustaining the right of Indian citizens to privileges of self-determination equal to those enjoyed by the English members of the Empire.

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*"Foundations of National Progress," page 5.

Yet an academic few, who have experienced the impact of Western culture on their ingrained marrows of Eastern civilizations, are attempting to graft the mechanisms of occidental government on the fabric of oriental society with no intermediate stages of progressive enlightenment or of practical experience in administering the machinery of self-rule. These few are failing to realize the facts of the situation, those stubborn facts of inherent standards and inalienable motivations of the Indian peoples which no quantity of flowery rhetoric and no amount of abstract application can invalidate.

There seems little danger, however, of India being injured by false, though doubtless sincere, analogies of the practicableness of installing the principles and practices of the European parliamentary system in the present Indian polity. These advocates find meager response from the native populace. Their attempt to forge an advanced form of government is noteworthy and admirable. However inappropriate their methods are for remedying India's staggering, and seemingly insuperable problems, their motives are progressive, and progress is the direst need of India.

If the British trusteeship were withdrawn to-day, the country would be ruled by Mr. Gandhi, provided that external attack and internal eruption permitted any civil authority. Let us see what he has proposed for Swaraj, for he has so magnetized the journalists of diverse countries that he is too often judged by his "news value," not his political value. The picturesque asceticism of his widely publicized moral life draws the focus of interest away from his phantasmagoric politics.

Mr. Gandhi would abolish parliamentary rule. Commenting on the Parliament of Great Britain, he states:

> That which you consider to be Mother of Parliaments is like a sterile woman and a prostitute. Both these are harsh terms, but exactly fit the case. That Parliament has not yet of its own accord done a single good

> thing;* hence I have compared it to a sterile woman. The natural condition of that Parliament is such that without outside pressure it can do nothing. It is like a prostitute because it is under the control of ministers who change from time to time.
>
> If the money and the time wasted by Parliament were entrusted to a few good men,† the English nation would be occupying to-day a much higher platform. The Parliament is simply a costly toy of the nation. These views are by no means peculiar to me. Some great English thinkers have expressed them.

Mr. Gandhi's condemnation of parliamentary authority is not due to his belief in its inutility but because he is frankly against any form of government. He preaches that "Real Home Rule is Self-Rule or control. The way to it is Passive Resistance; that is, soul-force or love-force."

Not only an elective form of self-rule must go, but also railways, lawyers, courts, doctors, education on Western lines, machinery of every kind and manufacturing industries. He advises all his followers to go into the interior of the country and live far from the pollution of railways and spin yarn because:

> Man is so made by nature as to require him to restrict his movements as far as his hands and feet will take him. If we did not rush about from place to place by means of railways and such other maddening conveniences, much of the confusion that arises would be obviated. Our difficulties are of our own creation. God set a limit to a man's locomotive ambition in the construction of his body. Man immediately proceeded to discover means of overriding the limit. God gifted man with intellect that he might know his Maker. Man abused it so that he might forget his Maker. I am so constructed that I can only

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*Though an ardent exponent of self-rule, Mr. Gandhi ignores such pre-eminent acts of Parliament as the "Magna Charta," the highest example of documentary establishment of the rights of mankind. It is the British Parliament that has enacted laws to protect the lives of Indian peoples, some of which we have already noted in the chapter, "The Growth of Government." As Sir Sankaran Nair charges: "Mr. Gandhi is not a student but an impulsive fanatic indifferent to facts but obsessed by phantasmagoria. He jumps to what he calls conclusions but which have in fact no premises." And Mr. Thompson comments that: "Mahatma Gandhi is a poor thinker. We can say this, for he has done most of his thinking aloud, in a very winning fashion. He assumes too much, he does not question his first principles. . . . His infantile confusion of thought will be apparent to any one."

†How can one help asking: "Is the advocate of this doctrine a true lover of self-rule or is he at heart a dictator?"

> serve my immediate neighbors, but in my conceit, I pretend to have discovered that I must with my body serve every individual in the Universe. In thus attempting the impossible, man comes in contact with different religions and is utterly confounded. According to this reasoning, it must be apparent to you that railways are a most dangerous institution. Man has gone further away from his Maker.*

Mr. Gandhi does not display much faith in the "love-force" of the peoples, since he thinks that if they come in contact with different natures and creeds they may serve others than their immediate neighbors and so disobey God! This is an echo of the laws of Hindu caste which forbid change of residence or interchange of associations.

We have already glanced at his views on education but let us read one more of his opinions:

> The ordinary meaning of education is a knowledge of letters. To teach boys reading, writing and arithmetic is called primary education. What do you propose to do by giving him a knowledge of letters? Will you add an inch to his happiness? Do you wish to make him discontented with his cottage or his lot? . . . It now follows that it is not necessary to make this education compulsory. Our ancient system is enough. . . . We consider your [British] schools useless. . . . The foundation that Macaulay laid of education has enslaved us. It is worth nothing that by receiving English education we have enslaved the nation. Hypocrisy, tyranny, etc., have increased. English-knowing Indians have not hesitated to cheat and strike terror into the people.†

Having returned the peoples to a primitive and archaic estate, he still would pay "a little subsidy to the Afghans" and would still require a small but nevertheless monetary payment for membership in his Swaraj party. Where money would come from and how it would be collected is unsolved by Mr. Gandhi. He has forbidden the payment of all taxes‡ and demanded the abolishment of industry, for:

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*"Indian Home Rule," by M. K. Gandhi; 1924, pages 45–8.

†*Ibid.*, pages 97–98, 100, 113.

‡Mr. Gandhi's pet act of anarchy is the breaking of the salt laws. So much propaganda has flooded our newspapers that a belief has become prevalent that the English

> It was not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that, if we set our hearts after such things, we would become slaves and lose our moral fibre. They, therefore, after due deliberation, decided that we should only do what we could with our hands and feet. They saw that our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet.*
>
> What did India do before manufactured articles were introduced? Precisely the same should be done to-day. As long as we cannot make pins without machinery, so long will we do without them. The tinsel splendor of glassware we will have nothing to do with, and we will make wick, as of old, with home-grown cotton, and use hand-made earthen saucers for lamps. [He finally adds:] I cannot recall a single good point in connection with machinery.

Mr. Gandhi overlooks the fact that renouncement of machinery would result in terrific pecuniary losses to native millowners and in the deprivation of employment to many laborers for whose welfare he has worked.

How this programme would permit the Indian people to be the masters of their own fate is inexplicable and incomprehensible. I am going to quote again Sir Sankaran Nair, because his opinion is not that of a British protagonist or a Gandhi disciple but the expression of a penetrating and judicial brain. He believes that:

> The strongest opponent [to Indian Home Rule] is Mr. Gandhi and perhaps the most severe check it has received is the adoption by the National Congress, at his instance, of the so-called Non-violent Non-

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are forbidding and denying the people salt. To quote one of many instances: "The poor little brown man on India's coral strand, who insists on salt in his diet, has to go to jail to get it." This is fallacious. Salt has never been denied. It is taxed, the total revenue per year amounting to 7–1/5c per person. Salt is taxed to-day in twenty-three countries in Europe and Asia, it being considered a fair revenue because it reaches every man. When the British took over the salt extraction (there is little salt found in the soil and that is usually of such inferior quality that consuming it generally causes skin eruptions) the rights to extract the mineral from the ocean were rented out by various local kings. Its quality was not regulated. The usual lack of sanitary methods prevailed and the people paid a great deal more for salt than now. Under the British régime, any profits above the actual cost of producing the salt, by regulated and sanitary methods, are credited to State levies. The only reason Mr. Gandhi revolts against the salt tax is that it offers him a spectacular manner of breaking the law and gives him a theatric mode of appeal to ignorant masses of illiterate mobs. It is comparable to a man standing in the middle of Times Square and defiantly and persistently selling whiskey and then proceeding to seize the Government warehouses. The British endured two months of such sedition before arresting Mr. Gandhi. I wonder how long he could have carried out his programme in the United States!

*I should like to ask Mr. Gandhi why he thinks the functions of the brain, which invented machinery and its uses, less godly than the functions of the hands and feet.

co-operation. Non-co-operation as advocated by Mr. Gandhi may be a weapon to be used when constitutional methods have failed to achieve our purpose, but non-violence and passive suffering will lead to bloodshed or be unfruitful of satisfactory results. . . .

There is scarcely any item in the Gandhi programme which is not a complete violation of everything preached by the foremost sons of India till 1919; which has not been strongly and even vehemently denounced by those old respected members of the Congress who now follow Mr. Gandhi. . . . The National Congress, carried away by its hostility toward Government, accepted his programme. Some of the younger men may have believed in it. The older and the most experienced I have no doubt never believed in its possibility but considered it a means of rousing the people of the country from their political lethargy, to put pressure on the Government for further and more extensive reforms. . . .

Mr. Gandhi is standing right athwart the path [of Reform], thus preventing or at least retarding and dangerously imperilling the indispensable reforms, regardless of the sufferings of the people entailed thereby, in order to carry out his own wild principles which have not the slightest chance of acceptance provided they are understood by the people of the country for what they are, emotional speculations without any considered relation to existing conditions. Mr. Gandhi, to take him at his best, is indifferent to facts. Facts must submit to the dictates of his theories. The only difficulty in his way is that they don't. Will o'the wisp politics are not of use to a people who have to live in a world which, from long and bitter experience, has at last come to realize that dreams of distorted brains are not the stuff of which contented Nations are made. Gandhi in fact is seeking not only to destroy the fruits of the long endeavor of the constitutional reformers, but blast forever any hopes of Indian regeneration. . . .

Judged by ordinary standards Mr. Gandhi's whole procedure, with the promises, the persuasions, the evasions, the subterfuges and all the other manœuvres, would be characterized by men of the world and of sane judgment, in language I hesitate to reproduce, for the simple reason that I believe that Mr. Gandhi is honest in his self-hypnotization. I believe he does not really know what he is doing. At least this is the only possible charitable assumption when we watch his feats of political acrobatics which have the power of deluding such vast numbers of people, making them passionately intolerant, violently intolerant often, of the slightest criticism of their hero. . . .

To me his Non-Co-operation Campaign appears to be an egregious blunder for which we are already paying dearly. A long line of illustrious statesmen, Indian and English, have just succeeded in leading us out of the house of bondage. How long we shall have to wander in

> the desert we do not know. But it is certain that Mr. Gandhi is not leading his followers in the direction of the promised land. He is not only going in the opposite direction but instead of toughening our fibre by a life of toil and struggle is endeavoring to entirely emasculate us and render us altogether unfit for the glorious destiny that, but for him and others like him, is awaiting us.*

Cornelia Sorabji, first woman to be admitted to the bar in India,† said in her lecture-tour in the United States during the fall of 1930:

> I have pondered the problems of my people for many years—I have suffered to see them suffer—I have watched the progress of Gandhi, but I must confess I am only puzzled. . . . To give India independence outside the Empire would be to help her commit suicide. If Gandhi's end is the emancipation of India so she may learn to govern herself and take her place among the nations of the world, speaking as an onlooker and as an Indian who has worked in India for thirty-five years, I admit I don't know. If India is to take her place among the nations of the modern world, she must take her place in trade and commercial progress. Yet Gandhi forbids the use of trains or telephones or telegraphs or any sort of machinery, and he directs his special propaganda against the manufacturing of cloth, both by Indians and by the English. As a result, the cotton industry in India is practically dead and jute is very hard hit.
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> Gandhi's campaign of civil disobedience, or the incitation not to pay taxes, has resulted equally disastrously. The people are thus eliminating the revenue which paid for the education of the poor, for sanitation, for hospitals.
>
> It seems to us who love and serve India that this teaching of the masses to flout law and order will make it terribly hard for those who have to govern later, whoever they are. The habit of flouting law and order is apt to crystallize and people taught disobedience and applauded for it will not easily relearn to obey.

These are the expressions of trained and analytical scholars. The clue to Mr. Gandhi's magnetism with the masses is his religious meaning; his saintship is the key to his political power, and his keen understanding of human nature is the force that welds the key. His knowledge of English character led him to tell Mr. Andrews:

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*"Gandhi and Anarchy," pages IX, XII, 110–11, 86–7, 2.

†Miss Sorabji is Barrister-at-law in the High Courts of Calcutta, B.C.L., Oxford, and legal adviser to the Court of Wards. She is the daughter of the Reverend and Mrs. Sorabji, who are Parsees and pioneer educationalists in Western India.

> An Englishman never respects you till you stand up to him. Then he begins to like you. He is afraid of nothing physical; but he is very mortally afraid of his own conscience, if ever you appeal to it, and show him to be in the wrong. He does not like to be rebuked for wrong-doing at first; but he will think over it, and it will get hold of him and hurt him, till he does something to put it right.

As for Mr. Gandhi's Indian following, he never forgets that: "In India, if one aspires to be a successful political leader, one must be a saint first."*

The second most popular leader to-day is Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Gandhi's right-hand man, who is an avowed Communist, some of his views being expounded in his book, "The Fascination of Russia." Mr. Ranga Iyer calls both the father, the late Pundit Motilal Nehru (propounder of the "Nehru Constitution"), and the son "the political pendulums of India" and charges that "they flirt with the revolutionary to secure leadership," while many other Indians ridicule his Russian politics as spurious and exclaim: "Vodka has gone to his head," but they can't deny his presidency of the National Congress and the multitude of his followers.

The doctrines of the Soviet find peculiarly sympathetic ears in India. As we have learned, there is a blood kinship between many Russians and Indians, their ancestors having come, in many cases, from the same tribes that settled in Russia and in India, and fought under Chingiz Khan and other barbarian chieftains. The Communists realize that they are sowing their menacing seeds in a fertile soil when they flood India with propaganda and furnish weapons and money to the various insurrectionaries.

Great Britain is termed by the Communists "The World Citadel of Imperialism" and therefore is the principal centre of their attacks.* The words of Lenin: "The East is seething and it is up to us to keep the pot boiling" are the gospel and standing order of the Communists. It may be remembered that Lenin turned to Asia, when Europe repudiated Bolshevism, with the declared intention of attacking the Occident through its commercial investments in the Orient. The richest centres of Western investment are China, India and Egypt, the first a large market for British goods and the other two British suzerainties.

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* "India, Peace or War?" by Ranga Iyer, page 191.

One of the methods of "keeping the pot boiling" was the foundation of Soviet Universities in China and Russian Turkestan and the awarding of scholarships at Russian Universities to Chinese and Indians. The public is fairly well aware of the results of their work in China, principally through the medium of Canton, and it is beginning to learn of their activities in Tashkent.

Whether the Russians will be as successful in India as in China only time can prove, but there can be no doubt of the strength and breadth of the Soviet movements south of the Khyber.

Mian Jaafar Shah, head of the "Red Shirts," and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, leader of the "Red Shirt" band that caused so much bloodshed in Peshawar and Vice-President of the North-West Provincial Congress, are returned émigrés from the hotbeds of Communism in Tashkent.

On August 23, 1931, an article appeared in the New York *Times* under the caption, "Answer to Gandhi denies his charges." It relates to the reply of the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, to the charges of Mr. Gandhi and the All-India National Congress that the Government had violated the Delhi pact. Mr. Gandhi had refused to attend the London Round Table Conference because of these alleged violations, but following negotiations, he had wired the Viceroy at Simla, asking

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*The 32-column supplement of the *Pravda* records the definite orders of the last Congress of the Comintern (Communist International) for revolutionary activities in Great Britain and the British Colonies and semi-Colonies. The orders declare India and India's millions are one of the most promising fields for "the breaking of Great Britain's power" and prescribe definite courses of action. The *Pravda* publication has been confirmed by the Secret Service, and as the London *Times* of May 12, 1930, states: "The strictness of the orders is apparent from a special note that this Russian text is authentic, and that all translations and copies should be made from it."

an interview. No comment was made on the following paragraph, but it holds a sinister meaning to the student of India:

> Mr. Gandhi took with him to Simla, Vallabhai Patel, president of the All-India National Congress; Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who ranks next to the Mahatma as Nationalist leader, and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who is known as the "Gandhi of the North-West Frontier."

Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru cast an ominous shadow on the future progress of India.

A World Problem

The problem of India's future concerns the world. If the policies of Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants are realized, disaster and financial hardship will fall on every American citizen as well as on those of the British Empire, for the avowed intentions of the Swarajists are the seizing and destroying of banking, shipping and railway commodities as well as commercial industries, all of which were introduced into India by the British and subsidized by them to the extent of ten billion dollars.

If the heavily taxed British should lose ten billion dollars by seizure and destruction, the crash of London credit would resound around the world. The recent Wall Street débâcle was a mere ripple compared with the deluge that would sweep away the values of world-wide stock-exchange securities.

In the appropriation of properties and the repudiation of debts, the Indian Swaraj leaders are planning to follow in the footsteps of the Russian revolutionists when they set up their Communist Republic. Should Mr. Gandhi die and with him his doctrines, and should Jawaharlal Nehru succeed him, as seems probable, the Communists would no doubt send forces into India as they did into China where they were "keeping the pot of revolution seething."

The Soviet influence in northern China has never equalled its effects in southern China, yet the Chinese Eastern Railway, in northern China, is managed by a Soviet National. Under an agreement signed in 1924, the chiefs of the principal departments are Soviet Nationals, the board of directors are half Chinese and half Soviet, the Chinese President is a figurehead. But the catch in this arrangement is that failure to obtain a quorum in any directors' meeting automatically throws the actual running of the railway into the hands of the Soviet Manager. Naturally, he runs the railway.

While the Communists have done great damage in China to foreign holdings and foreign trade, China is a comparatively unimportant factor in world affairs, while India is a vital and influential integrant. Great Britain sells more to India than to any other country in the world, and she buys more from her than from any other country except the United States. We also are large exporters and importers in our commerce with India. With the United States foreign trade at the lowest level of five years, with a decrease of $133,861,000 this past year alone, we badly need a foreign market with assured financial facilities. England supervises and insures sound banks and securities in India. How long can these banks pay American notes or American acceptances when the first official figures on Indian Government revenues and the India Office's survey on economic conditions report a poverty of collected taxes, a stifling of industry and an appalling amount of government expenditure for the maintaining of law and order?

The downfall of government would wreck the British financial investments that now produce 20 per cent of the direct or indirect income of every man and woman in Great Britain, according to the statements of Lord Rothermere.*

British interests in the Great Indian Dependency are so enormous and diverse that they underpin Great Britain's national prosperity at every point. Hundreds of millions of pounds have been used to establish not only the great shipping lines of India, her banks and insurance companies, railways and irrigation works, but even her collieries and ironworks, jute, cotton, woollen and paper mills, coffee plantations, tea plantations, and wheat-fields. To lose these investments would paralyze the

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*From a series of articles by Lord Rothermere; see London *Daily Mail,* May–June, 1930.

commercial organization of England and undermine her finances.

Ten billion dollars in securities and investments cannot be wiped out in any country without the crumpling up of the values of all bonds and securities.

The peoples of the world cannot afford to be indifferent to the Indian problem.

The Road to Federation

The day will doubtless come when an Indian Moses will lead his peoples out of the bondage of their own social and economic slavery into the promised land of social equality and economic freedom. He must necessarily possess the magic appeal to the emotions that Mr. Gandhi now enjoys, and the moral stimulus to the intellect that Woodrow Wilson inspired; for the deepest qualities of Indian character are spiritual, and it is to the voice of religion that the innermost soul of Indian nature responds. While Western training has altered the processes of thought of some academic minds, Western contact has not changed their spiritual motivations. National dispositions are not changed in decades, nor is it necessary that they should be for the realization of India's political freedom, but national concepts must be advanced and directed before the people can conscientiously and constructively march to their goal under the leadership of a true emancipator.

No harbinger of such a day of emancipation is now on the horizon, but when it does arrive, stupendous difficulties will still have to be overcome and India will not be aided by any attempt to minimize these impediments. How many Americans, who have formed fairly definite opinions of the Indian situation, have given real thought to the problems involved in the upbuilding of an Indian commonwealth? We are the largest and most populous democracy on earth; our union is the composite of forty-eight States that were politically self-conscious and morally self-obligated before they joined themselves in a federation, the laws of which were based on the evolution and experience of many generations of ancestors. We retained the spirit of the laws from our British inheritance and changed only the form of their mechanism. We transplanted the ideals of our own forebears on the soil of a new land we had won. We enjoy a high level of education, a common language and a common culture, yet we quarrel and bicker among ourselves, not for divergent ideals, but for different methods of expression of those ideals. We know the enduring questions of States' rights versus Federal rights, and are cognizant of the unceasing difficulties in the working of the machinery of democracy *by* the people for the common welfare and contentment *of* the people.

If we co-operate so inadequately, how can a democracy of three times our number of inhabitants, speaking 222 tongues, with no inherited laws save those of feudal and despotic régimes, with conflicting ideals and divergent ambitions, evolve a working and expressive federation?

The ultimate Indian government must be federal, for only such an organism could effectively unite such widely different units as the Provinces of British India and the States of native India in a responsive and responsible centre which would at the same time permit the retention of internal harmony. Only a federal structure could allow sufficient elasticity for the efficient co-operation of integers with such divergent provincial constitutions and such heterogeneous communities at incongruous stages of cultural development.

All parties agree that readjustment of boundaries is necessary, for the present divisions have almost invariably been formed by chances of war. While Indian political thought is very definite in recognizing that the Provinces often embrace areas and peoples of few or no natural affinities and separate those of natural affiliations, it is universally indefinite as to any constructive solution. The Nehru Constitution goes into this problem with much detail and discussion of "linguistic areas," but offers no corrective scheme. The report not only avoids a remedy, it even lacks a proper premise; for the question is not confined to the problem of a common speech, it involves race, religion, economic and administrative interests, geographical contiguities and equitable divisions of country and towns, coastal outlets and internal resources.

Recognizing the urgency of the wide-spread demands to change the present political boundaries, the Simon Commission requested the legislature of each Province to appoint a Committee to formulate a plan. Each Committee offered a solution that was quite inharmonious with those suggested by the other Committees. In the case of five of the eight Committees, those from Bombay, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab, and the United Provinces, the reports were not unanimous, and majority and minority groups offered radically different recommendations for the same Province.

How can India evolve a working federation, with such disrupted and disjointed Provinces? How can a co-operating whole develop from such conflicting constituents? The problem seems insurmountable.*

One of the greatest stumbling-blocks in the path of rapid progress to self-rule is the failure of the people to realize that the success of a democratic system of government depends on the ability of the majority to secure the acquiescence and co-operation of the minorities. No country has ever been infested with such numbers of minorities as India, where even the Hindu majority is fissured by the conflicting castes.†

The Road to Federation must necessarily be travelled slowly, no matter how impatient the peoples are of the doctrine of gradualness. Successful governments are not gained by foreshortening experiment, and the intermediate processes of practical experience and idealistic application are inexorably obligatory. While Indian leaders are advancing through the successive stages of constructing a constitution and conciliating the minorities, the retention of an impartial power that will dispense justice and maintain peace, without reference to class or creed, would alleviate innumerable burdens and assist the pace of Indian progress. Therefore, the attainment of economic prosperity and political power will be most easily, quickly and profitably secured for India by her co-operation with the gradually diminishing guardianship of Great Britain.

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*Comparable impediments were encountered in Ireland, the home of the only constitution ready-made and not developed over a period of time. The Irish Free State, with one-eightieth the population of India, was so bitterly and irreconcilably divided between Christian Protestantism and Christian Catholicism that two Parliaments were found to be necessary to prevent bloodshed. This small country is clearly divided north and south by these faiths, and no problem of interspersed beliefs exists. Admittedly this comparison errs on the side of mildness, for the Irish Free State is protected by Great Britain's defenses, and India's Nationalistic Party no longer seeks Dominion Status but complete disconnection.

†While the past political leadership of the Brahmans and the social slavery of those civic lepers, the "Untouchables," are recognized abroad, we too often overlook the two remaining high castes, the Kshatriyas, or administrators, and the Vaisyas, or merchants, who are now assigned the rôle of either submissive or rebellious clans, many of whom are afflicted by Mr. Gandhi's denouncement of the callings permitted by their caste ranks and alarmed by Jawaharlal Nehru's proposals to seize and destroy civic administrations, shops, factories and transit services.

However unprofitable to world progress India's political experiments may seem, however costly to world commerce her economic theories may prove, the cordial sympathy and warm wishes of all democratic citizenry will follow her peoples in their efforts to translate their own ideals into ideas and their own aspirations into actions. May India's future bedim even her illustrious past and become a living emblem of glorious achievement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A bibliography of the major volumes on which are based the conclusions found in this book, with brief annotations of their contents and authors, which may assist those who desire to read more fully on the respective subjects.

HISTORY

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2. *The Early History of India;* by Vincent A. Smith. Oxford University Press, 1914. An earlier work by Doctor Smith, which can be profitably read in addition to his Oxford History, since he treats the subjects in different proportion.

3. *Akbar, the Great Mogul;* by Vincent A. Smith. Oxford University Press, 1919. A survey and digest of the life and achievements of the greatest of the Great Moguls; a book rich in information regarding the developments of native rule.

Vincent A. Smith, C.I.E., M.A., Hon.Litt.D., M.R.A.S., Fellow of Allahabad University and distinguished classical scholar (1848–1920), devoted the entire fifty years of his adult life to India. Entering the Indian Civil Service in 1871, he served for twenty-nine years in various executive, judicial and administrative offices in the Government of India. In 1900 he retired to England and spent the remaining twenty years of his life in writing and editing numerous works on Indian history, art and archæology. He is considered a savant of the first rank concerning all branches of Indian records.

4. *The Cambridge History of India;* in 6 vols. (Vols. 2, 4 and 6 are still in preparation.) Vol. 1, Ancient India, edited by E. J. Rapson, M.A. Cambridge University Press, 1922. A compilation of chapters by a number of authoritative investigators, including the editor, who is Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge, and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

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Vol. V. India from 1497–1858; edited by H. H. Dodwell, M.A. Cambridge University Press, 1929; Macmillan, New York, 1929. This volume

covers the years of the Portuguese, Dutch, French and British colonizations, the tribal, Hindu and Moslem contentions for supremacy, the East India Company's struggle for control and its growth of administration, up to the establishment of the Suzerainty of Great Britain over India.

These three volumes are the latest compendiums by distinguished authorities on the respective periods of Indian history. They are treasuries of information for the serious student. The editor is Professor of the History and Culture of the British Dominions in Asia, in the University of London.

5. *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples;* by Sir William Wilson Hunter. Oxford University Press, 22nd edition, 1897. This short and comprehensive history was prescribed in 1886 as a textbook for entrance examination by Calcutta University, and the novice who desires a simple yet inclusive account of India can still find no better elementary treatment. The author, Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., C.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D. (1840–1900), was a notable historian and publicist of Indian affairs who spent twenty-six years in the I. C. S. (Indian Civil Services). He wrote numerous articles and books, including a more copious history of India (2 vols. Longmans Green and Co., London, New York, 1899) which was supplanted as a textbook only by Doctor Smith's histories.

6. *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as described by Arrian, Quintus Curtius, Diodoros, Plutarch and Justin;* translated by J. W. McCrindle, M.A., M.R.A.S. Constable and Co., 1893.

7. *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian;* by J. W. McCrindle, M.A., M.R.A.S. Chuckervertiy, Chatterjee and Co. Ltd., Calcutta, 1926.

The detailed accounts of the Greek and Roman histories of Alexander the Great's army throw a flood of light on the political and social conditions of N. W. India. These documents supply a marked deficiency in Indian record and furnish the first definite testimonials regarding political progress in India, for Vedic record, being controlled by the sacerdotal Brahmans, dealt with thought rather than with action, with ideas rather than with events. Speaking of Megasthenes' accounts, Sir W. W. Hunter states: "His description of India is perhaps the best that reached Europe during two thousand years, from 300 B.C. to 1700 A.D." ("Brief History of Indian Peoples," page 88.) These translations by the late (1825–1913) principal of the Government College at Patna and Fellow of Calcutta University, also member of the General Council of the University of Edinburgh, are of incalculable value in the studying of Hindu social and political development.

8. *The History of India as told by its Own Historians* (8 vols.); translated and summarized by Sir Henry Elliott and Professor John Dowson. Trübner and Co., London, 1867.

The foundation of the history of Mohammedan rule in India rests upon Persian chronicles, for the court language of the centuries of Moslem dynasties was Persian. These volumes, edited from the posthumous papers of Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., of the East India Company's Bengal Civil Service, by Professor Dowson, M.R.A.S., of the Staff College at Sandhurst, are compre-

hensive interpretations of the Indian records of the Court historians of the Moslem Sultans and Moghul Emperors.

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A volume that simplifies the Indian systems of chronology, by the late (1814–1893) director-general of the Archæological Survey of India.

10. *Mediæval India Under Mohammedan Rule, 712–1764;* by Stanley Lane-Poole. Fisher Unwin, London, 1925.
An excellent account for the interested apprentice, by a British historian and archæologist who was Professor of Arabic at Trinity College, Dublin (1897–1904), and who has made extensive archæological researches in various lands for the British government.

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An interestingly told history by a British journalist and traveller (1852–1929) who possessed a profound knowledge of India. All of Sir Valentine Chirol's books are authoritative, although they are not used as textbooks, to the best of my knowledge, and they prove especially easy reading because of the author's graphic style.

12. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* (*Rajputana*); by Colonel James Tod (1829). Reprinted in a popular edition, 2 vols., by Routledge, 1914; Dutton, New York, 1914.
Colonel Tod's chronicles form a vital link in Indian history, for they preserve the glories of Rajput tradition, oral and written, which are not available elsewhere. As Doctor Vincent Smith points out: "Every court in the old Hindu kingdom maintained official bards and chroniclers whose duty it was to record and keep up the annals of the state. Some portions of such chronicles have been preserved and published by Colonel Tod, the author of that famous book 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han,' but that work stands almost alone. The great mass of the Raja's annals has perished beyond recall." ("Oxford History of India," page XVIII.) Colonel Tod was agent for the East India Co. in Rajputana from 1812 to 1823.

13. *The Memoirs of Babur;* translated by John Leyden and William Erskine, 1826, annotated and revised by Sir Lucas King, Kt., C.S.I., LL.D., F.S.A., I.C.S. H. Milford, London, 1921.
A fascinating autobiography of the activities and ambitions of one of the great makers of history, the Napoleon of India, who won his Waterloo. Translation was by eminent classical scholars; revision by the late (1856–1923) Professor of Oriental Languages at Dublin University, 1905–22, and author of many translations and publications, who had served in India in high government offices from 1875 to 1906.

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An invaluable record of Akbar's administrative system, proving particularly enlightening as to the form of government and revenue-collection developed by the most powerful of Mogul monarchs. These books are the foundation for all histories of Akbar's reign but prove tedious records to all except the specialist.

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Doctor Vincent A. Smith comments on this history: "The publication in 1841 of Elphinstone's justly famous 'History of India' made possible for the first time systematic study of the Indo-Muhammadan history of Hindustan or Northern India down to the battle of Panipat in 1761. Although Elphinstone's book, mainly based on the compilations of Firishta and Khafi Khan, is of permanent value, it is no disparagement of its high merit to say that in these changed times it is no longer adequate for the needs of either the close student or the general reader. Since Elphinstone wrote, many authorities unknown to him have become accessible, archæological discoveries have been numerous, and corrections of various kinds have become necessary . . . in the austere pages of Elphinstone, who modelled his work on the lines adopted by Muslem chroniclers." ("Oxford History of India," pages XXI, XXII.)

17. *Memoirs, by Jahangir;* translated by Alexander Rogers, I.C.S., and edited by Henry Beveridge, I.C.S. (2 vols.) Royal Asiatic Society, 1909–1914.

These diaries of an impious idealist, covering nineteen years of his reign and portraying a character that was a curious compound of tenderness and cruelty, wisdom and folly, æstheticism and brutality, throw a spotlight on the state of the Indian populace during the early years of the seventeenth century.

18. *History of Aurangzeb;* by Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E. (2 vols.) M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, 1912.

One of the best accounts of the rule of the last of the Moghuls, by an outstanding Hindu scholar, member of the Legislative Council of Bengal and the Indian Historical Record Commission, who was University Professor of Modern Indian History, the Hindu University of Benares (1917–19), Reader in Indian History, Pana University (1920–22), Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta Univeristy (1926–29). An abridged edition in 1 vol. was published by Longmans, Green & Co. in 1930.

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The impressions of the only lay traveller from Europe who is known to have visited Akbar's dominions, who returned to England and assisted in the founding of the East India Company in 1599.

20. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul 1615–1619 as Narrated in His Journal and Correspondence;* edited by William Foster. (2 vols.) Hakluyt Society, 1899.

The journals of this accredited ambassador from James I to the Emperor Jahangir are the faithful record of the intrigues and treacheries prevalent at the Moghul Court of the profligate son of Akbar the Great.

21. *Travels in the Mogul Empire* A.D. *1656–1668;* by François Bernier, translated and edited by Archibald Constable and V. A. Smith. Oxford Univeristy Press, 1914.

A celebrated work by an astute observer and wide traveller in India during the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Bernier was a learned French physician whose patron was a great noble of the Moghul Court, reputed to have been the greatest Asian sage of his time. Bernier was deeply interested in all phases of Indian society and kept himself free from personal bias. His records give a clear picture of the cruel conditions of the Indian people at large, the bitter state of constant Hindu-Moslem feud and the dissolute life at the Imperial Court during the glittering years of Moghul rule.

22. *Dupleix,* by Prosper Cultru. Hachette, Paris, 1901.

Cultru is accepted as the leading authority on the great French rival of Clive.

23. *Life of Lord Clive,* by Sir G. W. Forrest, C.I.E., F.R.G.S., F.R.H.S., B.A. Cassell and Co., Ltd., 1918.

One of the best biographies of the genius who set the British flag firmly above India. The grown-up lovers of Henty's hero will find much of interest in this book by the former Census Commissioner of India, Fellow of Bombay University, Professor of English History at Elphinstone College, Member of the Bombay Educational Department, Director of Records for the Government of India, etc., and author of numerous State Papers preserved for the Bombay Secretariat.

24. *Historical Geography of India,* by P. E. Roberts, M.A. Oxford University Press, 1916–1919. Part I: To the End of the East India Company. Part II: Under Government of the Crown.

The first volume is probably the best brief account of the British period through the Mutiny, and the second volume is a sound summary of the ensuing eras, by a Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford.

25. *The History of British India;* by James Mill. First edition, 1812–1818, is difficult to obtain except in museums or collections. Edition by Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, London, 1826, is the one often quoted. The enlarged edition, with notes and continuation by H. H. Wilson, in 9 volumes, J. Madden, London, 1848, is the standard issue.

This work, which scathingly condemns Clive and Warren Hastings, is constantly quoted by present-day denouncers of British rule in India who evidently overlook the facts that Mill never put foot in India, and admittedly wrote the history from purely commercial motives (as may be distinctly read in his own letters), with the hostile animus of a radical Liberal for the aristocratic Tory Party. Twelve years after the publication of his drastic criticism of the East India Company's officers, Mill was largely occupied as Spokesman of the Directors of that very company in their defense in the controversy over the renewal of the East India Company's charter. Doctor Smith comments: "Mill's book, notwithstanding its well-known faults, will always be valuable for reference. But it is a hundred years old, and much has happened since it was written. ["Oxford History of England," page XXIII.] . . . James Mill, who had devoted many pages to unsparing criticism of the acts and policies of Hastings, felt himself constrained when quitting the subject to pen a partial recantation and bear emphatic testimony to the rare gifts of the man whom he had treated so ill." (*Ibid.*, page 549.) Sir W. W. Hunter states: "James Mill's History of British India would be the standard work on this period . . . but for the unfortunate prejudices and misrepresentations which disfigure that able writer's work." ("Brief History of the Indian Peoples," page 199.) To the student of the period the book is valuable; to the professional distortioner it is convenient.

26. *The Making of British India, 1756–1858, Described in a Series of Dispatches, Treaties, Statutes and Other Documents;* selected and edited by Ramsay Muir. Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, 1915.

Evidence that speaks for itself, annotated by the Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester.

27. *History of the War in Afghanistan,* by Sir J. W. Kaye, in 3 vols. Allen, London, 1851; fourth edition, 1878.

Doctor Smith remarks concerning this book: "It is the leading authority; it is so carefully documented that little material change was made in the later editions." ("Oxford History of India," page 688.)

ETHNOLOGY, PHILOLOGY, RELIGIONS, ARTS AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

1. *The People of India,* by Sir Herbert Risley, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta; Thacker and Co., London, 1915.

This work is an unrivalled compilation and treatise concerning the physical and social types of Indian peoples, the origin of caste, and the relationships between caste and marriage, religion and nationality. The author was eminent in anthropological societies throughout the world, Director of Ethnography for India for many years, Census Commissioner of India, three times President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and holder of numerous other offices in similar fields. His work on Constitutional Reform was considered so important that his service was extended on the expiry of thirty-five years, the maximum term of office prescribed for members of the I.C.S. In the preface to this volume Sir Herbert Risley wrote: "In the chapter on Caste and Nationality

I have endeavoured to analyze the causes and to forecast the prospects of the Indian nationalist movement of recent years. Being anxious above all things to avoid giving offense, I submitted proofs to Mr. Nagendra Nath Ghose, Fellow of the Calcutta University and Editor of the *Indian Nation*, a sober thinker, who holds that the people of India 'should conceive national unity as their chief aim, and the realization of it as their chief duty.' Mr. Ghose gives me the comforting assurance—'I have discovered no sentiment with which I am not in agreement.' For the same reason the chapter on Caste and Religion, which contains a certain amount of new matter, was laid before my friend Mr. Justice Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, one of the most learned and not the least orthodox, of living Hindus. Doctor Mookerjee has been good enough to write to me: 'I have very carefully read over the proof which you so kindly sent me. I have never read anything so illuminating on the subject, and I have not come across any statement to which exception may justly be taken.' " These are but two examples of the endorsement of Sir Herbert Risley's data by notable Indians, and they typify both his researches and conclusions. A book that, while containing the technical findings of a scientist, is so simply written that it is both entertaining and instructive to the layman.

2. *Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryas*; by F. Max-Mueller. Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1888.

An erudite work demonstrating the inseparableness of language and thought. As much of the volume deals with Sanskrit, it largely concerns the history of Hindu mental development as disclosed through the annals of their classical language.

3. *India, What Can It Teach Us?* by F. Max-Mueller. Longmans, Green and Co., London, first edition 1883, second edition 1892.

Course of lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge, the first part expounding the human interest of Sanskrit literature, the second part embodying an effort to humanize the Vedas and to win sympathetic understanding for the legal and social opinions of the Hindus, by a real friend of India and of many Indians.

4. *Chips from a German Workshop*; by F. Max-Mueller. In 4 vols., Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1867–75; in 5 vols., Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1869–81–95.

Chips and splinters of thought from a German philosopher (written shortly after completing his "History of the Rigveda"), probably the most delightful and certainly the most popular of his multitudinous works.

Vol. 1. Essays on the science of religion, their subject matter referring to Christianity, Buddhism and Confucianism but principally dealing with the religions of the Vedas and the Zend-Avesta of the Parsis.

Vol. 4. Essays on the science of language, with discussions on the grammatical forms in Sanskrit, on Buddhism, the schism in the Brahmo Samaj and the vitality of Brahmanism. (Vols. 2, 3 and 5 have only fragmentary bearing on India.)

5. *The Sacred Books of the East;* translated by various Oriental scholars, and

edited by F. Max-Mueller, in 50 volumes. Oxford University Press, 1879–1910.

Vols. on the Vedic-Brahmanic Religion:

a. Prayers and Hymns: vols. 32, 42, 46.
b. Magic Rites, and Theology: vols. 12, 26, 29, 30, 41, 42, 43, 44.
c. Philosophy: vols. 1, 8, 15, 34, 38, 48.
d. Laws: vols. 2, 7, 14, 25, 33.

Vols. on the Parsi Religion: vols. 4, 5, 18, 23, 24, 31, 37, 47.
Vols. on Islam: vols. 6, 9.
Vol. 51. A general index and compilation of the names and subject matter, giving a methodical arrangement and co-ordination of the vast and varied material, by M. Winternitz, Professor of Indian Philology and Ethnology in the German University of Prague, with a preface by A. A. Macdonell, then Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford.

This great undertaking of enduring value, "planned and edited by Professor Max-Mueller (all but one volume was completed before his death), was carried out by the collaboration of twenty scholars, all leading authorities in the special departments of oriental learning to which the works translated by them belong. They include all the most important works of the seven non-Christian religions that have exercised a profound influence on the civilization of the continent of Asia." (Doctor Macdonell, in his preface to vol. 51.) The Vedic-Brahmanic religions claim, 21 vols.; Buddhism, 10 vols.; Jainism, 2 vols.; Parsi religion, 8 vols.; Islam, 2 vols.; Confucianism and Taoism, 6 vols.

Professor Max-Mueller epitomized the message and summarized the value of this compilation (still the standard library of English translations) in his preface when he wrote: "Readers who have been led to believe that the Vedas of the ancient Brahmans, the Avesta of the Zoroastrians, the Tripitaka of the Buddhists, the Kings of Confucius, or the Koran of Mohammed are books full of primæval wisdom and religious enthusiasm, or at least of sound and simple moral teaching, will be disappointed on consulting these volumes. Looking at many of the books that have lately been published on the religions of the ancient world, I do not wonder that such a belief should have been raised; but I have long felt that it was high time to dispel such illusions, and to place the study of the ancient religions of the world on a more real and sound, on a more truly historical, basis. It is but natural that those who write on ancient religions and who have studied them from translations only, not from original documents, should have had eyes for their bright rather than for their dark sides. The former absorb all the attention of the student, the latter, as they teach nothing, seem hardly to deserve any notice. Scholars also who have devoted their life either to the editing of the original texts or to the careful interpretation of some of the sacred books, are more inclined after they have disinterred from a heap of rubbish some solitary fragment of pure gold, to exhibit these treasures only than to display all the refuse from which they had to extract them. But whether I am myself one of the guilty or not, I cannot help calling attention to the real mischief that has been done and is still being done by the enthusiasms of these pioneers who have opened the first avenues through the bewildering forest of the sacred literature of the East. They have raised expectations. The time has come when the study of the ancient religions of mankind must be approached in a definite, in a less enthusiastic and more discriminating, in fact, in a more scholarly spirit."

Friederich Max-Mueller, M.A., LL.D. (many other honorary degrees from British and Continental universities, too numerous to list) (1823–1900), distinguished Anglo-German Orientalist and Comparative Philologist, wrote, among numerous other volumes, some of the most instructive and fascinating books on subjects related to Sanskrit. He popularized the science of comparative philology and stimulated the search for Oriental manuscripts and inscriptions, which resulted in discoveries of early Buddhist scriptures. The chair of Philology was created at Oxford for this naturalized Englishman of German birth, whose most tangible result was the "Sacred Books of the East," and who, in the language of a fellow Professor in Oxford University, "rendered vast service by popularizing high truths among high minds."

6. *A History of Sanskrit Language;* by Professor A. A. Macdonell, M.A., Ph.D., London, 1900; last edition, 1917.

"A masterly summary of a tremendous subject." (Smith; "Oxford History of India," page 43.) "This is the first history of Sanskrit literature [Max-Mueller's valuable volume of the same title (1859) was necessarily limited in scope to the Vedic period. Research made great strides in the forty years intervening between the two books] as a whole. It sheds light on the life and thought of the population of India" and offers "connected information about the literature in which the civilization of Modern India can be traced to its sources and without which that civilization cannot be fully understood." (Doctor Macdonell's preface.)

7. *India's Past; a Survey of her Literatures, Religions, Languages and Antiquities,* by A. A. Macdonell, M.A., Ph.D. Oxford University Press, 1927.

This work summarizes India's intellectual history particularly with regard to "the mental development of the most easterly branch of Aryan civilization since it entered India by land till it came in contact by sea with the most westerly branch of the same civilization after a separation of at least three thousand years." (Doctor Macdonell's preface.)

8. *A Vedic Reader for Students;* by A. A. Macdonell, M.A., Ph.D. Oxford University Press, 1917.

This book contains thirty hymns of the Rigveda in the original Sanskrit, with translations, explanations and notes by Doctor Macdonell.

The author of these three volumes is the most distinguished living Philologian, Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, formerly Boden Professor of Sanskrit and Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. It was to Max-Mueller that Doctor Macdonell owed his stimulus to study Sanskrit at the University of Goettingen after finishing at Oxford, and to-day he occupies the paramount position in this field that was held by Max-Mueller as long as he lived. Doctor Macdonell is the author or editor of numerous textbooks.

9. *The Hymns of the Rigveda;* translated, with a popular Commentary, by Ralph T. H. Griffith. E. J. Lazarus and Co., Benares, 1889.

Doctor Smith indorses these two volumes by the former principal of Benares College. "The metrical version of the 'Hymns of the Rigveda' by Griffith is an unpretentious work of sound scholarship." ("Oxford History of India," page 43.)

10. *Translation of the Holy Qur-an from the Original Arabic Text,* with Critical Essays, Life of Muhammad, Complete Summary of Contents; by Al-Haj Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, M.A. Privately published but can be obtained from the author (20 Malacca St., Singapore, or The Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England.)

This volume is interesting to the dilettante, particularly because it offers a review of previous translations and the opinion of an eminent Moslem regarding the merits of other interpretations. The author was receiver of several high scholarships and honors, was Member of the Malayan Civil Service from 1896 to 1928; Mufti of Penang, and Civil District Judge, Singapore, from 1923 to 1928.

11. *The History of Caste in India,* by Shridar V. Ketkar, M.A., Ph.D. Vol. I: Evidence of the Laws of Manu on the Social Conditions in India during the Third Century A.D., Interpreted and Examined, with an Appendix on Radical Defects of Ethnology. Taylor and Carpentier, Ithaca, New York, 1909. Vol. II: An Essay on Hinduism, Its Formation and Future, Illustrating the Laws of Social Evolution as reflected in the History of the Formation of Hindu Community. Luzac and Co., London, 1911.

These two books were written by a courageous and liberal-minded Hindu who received his Ph.D. in sociology, politics and political economy at Cornell University, where he was formerly President of the Society of Comparative Theology and Philosophy. Doctor Smith regarded these essays on the relation of the caste system to the Hindu religion as "the most illuminating book on caste which I have met with." ("Oxford History of India," page 43.)

12. *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies;* by the Abbé Jean Antoine Dubois (1765–1848), translated and edited by Henry K. Beauchamp, from the French publication of 1821; Oxford University Press, 1924.

The Abbé was a philosophical priest who lived for nearly a third of a century in India. He faithfully and painstakingly recorded Hindu life as he saw it. He was an unprejudiced student and a deep scholar. Although he candidly discusses subjects which prove "strong meat" for the supersensitive and the easily shocked, his work is highly respected by authorities.

13. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture;* by Sir James Fergusson. J. Murray, London, 1876; Dodd, Mead and Co., New York, 1883; J. Murray, 1910.

The standard work on Indian architecture by the late (1806–1886) Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, who was the first to show that architecture from the time of the Renaissance consisted mainly of revivals and imitations of ancient styles.

MISCELLANEOUS

To the publishers of the following works, from which she has quoted or to which she has referred, the author herewith makes grateful acknowledgement:

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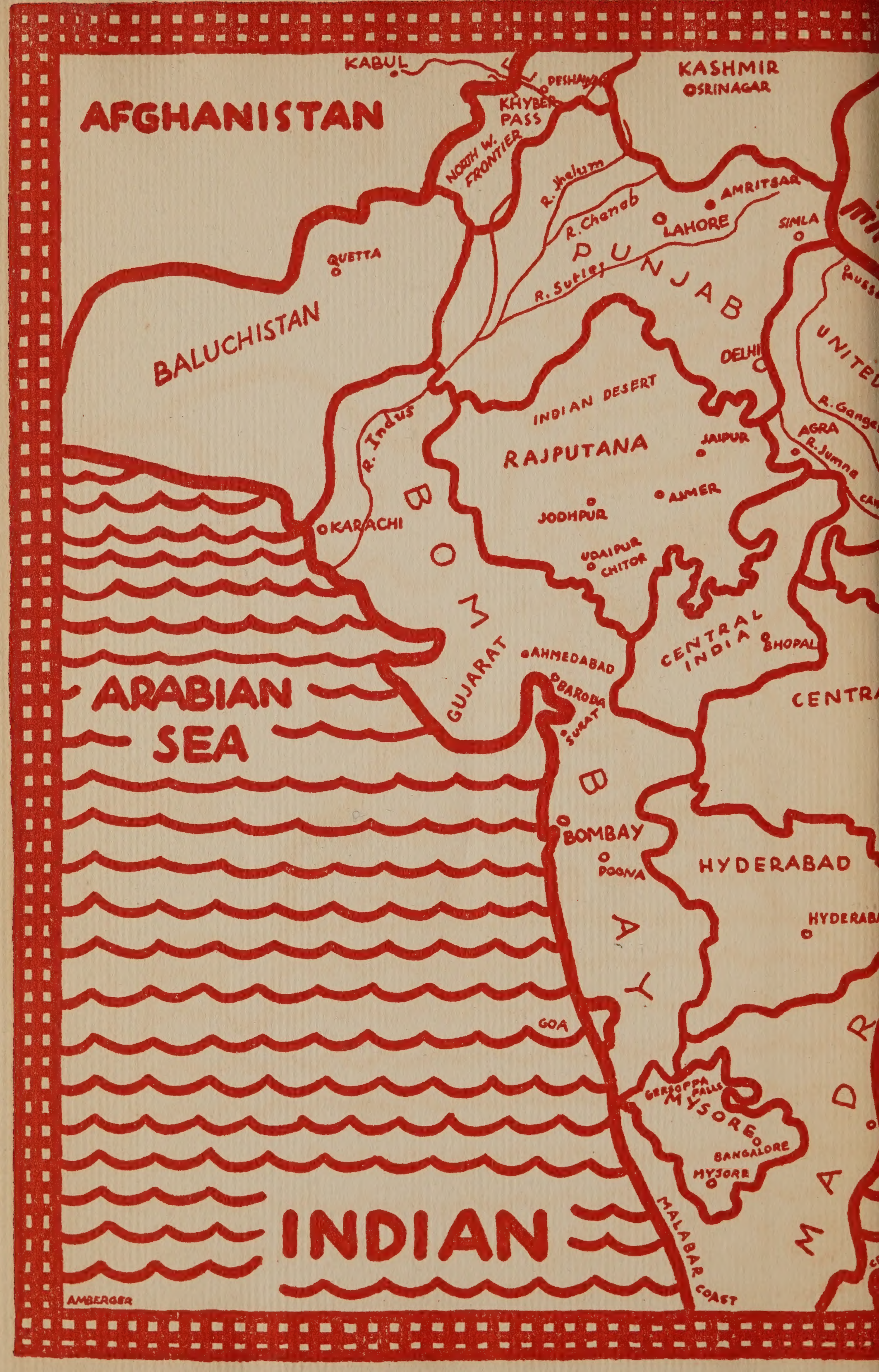
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